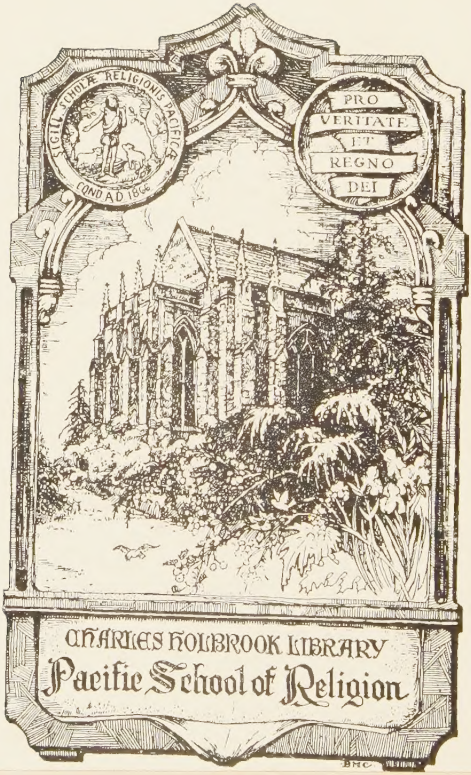

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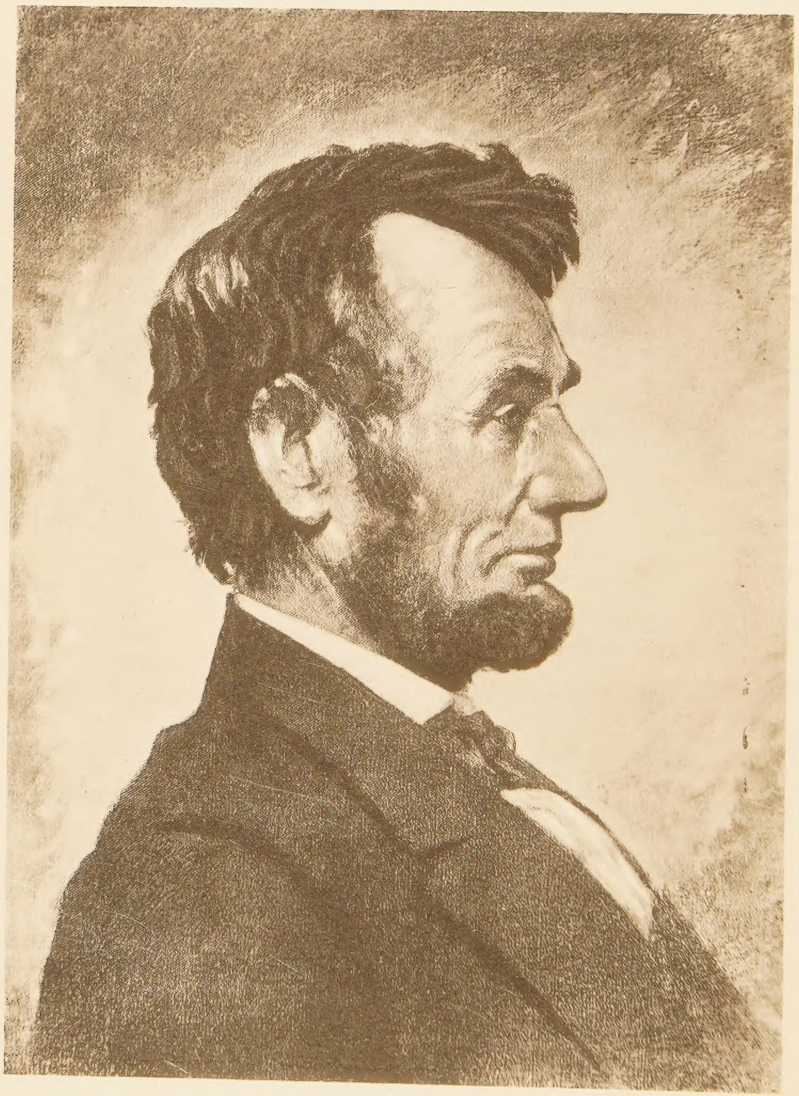

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

FROM A PORTRAIT BY WILLIAM WILLARD
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COURTESY OF "THE OUTLOOK"

PUBLICATIONS

OF THE

AMERICAN

JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY

NUMBER 17

PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY.
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AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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HON. OSCAR S. STRAUS, Washington, D. C., ex-officio, as Past President of the Society.

OBJECTS.

The object of this Society is to collect and publish material bearing upon the history of America, and to promote the study of Jewish history in general, preferably so far as the same is related to American Jewish history or connected with the causes of emigration from various parts of the world to this continent. It is known that Jews in Spain and Portugal lent no inconsiderable aid to the voyages that led to the discovery of America, that a few accompanied the earliest discoverers and that Jews were among the first settlers on this continent, and in its adjacent islands. Considerable numbers saw service in the Colonial and Revolutionary wars, some of them with great distinction. Others contributed liberally to the Continental treasury, at critical periods, to aid in the establishment of Independence. Since the foundation of our government, Jews have played an active part in the political affairs of the country, and have been called upon to hold important public positions. The records of the achievements of these men will, when gathered together, prove of value and interest to the historian, and perchance cast light upon some obscure parts of the history of our country.

PREFACE.

All but three of the papers included herein were read at the meetings of the Society held at Newport, R. I., on July 4, 1907, or at New York City, on May 17, 1908. Mr. Hühner's paper on "The Jews of Georgia" was read at the 1901 meeting of the Society, while his paper on Governor Emanuel was presented at the meeting at Cincinnati, O., in 1905. Mr. Lebowich's paper was also submitted at this meeting.

The succeeding volume (No. 18) of these *Publications* will contain the remaining papers presented at the Newport and New York meetings which, through exigencies of space and other considerations, could not be included in the present issue. It may also contain some of the papers presented at the meeting of the Society held at Philadelphia, Pa., on February 21 and 22, 1909. It is expected that this volume (No. 18), of the series will be ready for distribution in the course of the next few months.

The preparation and editing of the volume now published were entrusted to the following Publication Committee: Dr. Herbert Friedenwald, Chairman, Messrs. Max J. Kohler and Albert M. Friedenberg, and Professors Richard J. H. Gottheil and Joseph Jacobs. Pressure of other duties compelled Dr. Friedenwald to relinquish the chairmanship, and Mr. Friedenberg was appointed in his place.

THE FIFTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING.

The fifteenth annual meeting of the American Jewish Historical Society was called to order on Thursday, July 4, 1907, at 10.30 a. m., in the hall of the Newport Historical Society, on Touro Street, Newport, R. I. The president, Dr. Cyrus Adler, was in the chair, and Mr. Albert M. Friedenberg, of New York, was chosen to act as recording secretary in the absence of Dr. Herbert Friedenwald.

The officers presented their annual reports; namely, the corresponding secretary, the curator, and the treasurer. The report of the Committee on Indexing American Jewish Periodicals, composed of Messrs. Richard Gottheil, Herbert Friedenwald, and Albert M. Friedenberg, was read. It was proposed to index a select list of journals at once, for which purpose the sum of $250 was appropriated by the meeting.

The following is the report of Hon. N. Taylor Phillips, treasurer:

REPORT OF TREASURER, OCTOBER 1, 1905, TO OCTOBER 1, 1906.

RECEIPTS.

Balance with Treasurer, in Broadway Trust Co., October 1, 1905	$2,344.75
Members' dues and back dues	1,030.00
Sale of Publications	27.73
Interest, current deposit, Broadway Trust Co., one year to July 1, 1906	82.97
	$3,485.45

EXPENDITURES.

Contingent, including postage, expressage, stationery, telegrams, etc.	$ 21.20
Friedenwald Co., printing, freight, etc.	16.65
Friedenwald Co., expressage, Vol. 14	70.09
Friedenwald Co., printing, etc., Vol. 13	543.90
Solomon Blum, clerical services to Publication Committee	150.00
Exchanges, Broadway Trust Co.	2.90
Max J. Kohler, expenses, Secretary	43.50
Prof. J. H. Hollander, expenses annual meeting	5.85
Prof. Ludwig Geiger, for transcripts of documents	24.00
William Abbatt, for David Frank's letter	3.68
Theodore E. Schulte, books and periodicals for collection.	308.80
Purchases by Curator for collection	134.26
Fire Insurance Premium	66.25
N. Y. Co-operative Society, reprinting Vol. 14	235.50
N. Y. Co-operative Society, book	12.00
Evening Post Job Printing Office, printing	17.00
Balance with Treasurer, October 1, 1906	1,829.87
	$3,485.45

STATEMENT OF THE ASSETS OF THE SOCIETY, OCTOBER 1, 1906.

Balance, Broadway Trust Co., New York	$1,829.87
Present deposit in National Savings Bank of Albany, N. Y.	2,668.68
Capital, October 1, 1906	$4,498.55

The reports were accepted and ordered printed, and the president reappointed Messrs. Benjamin N. Cardozo, and Lee Kohns a committee to audit the treasurer's report. The Chair also named Messrs. Albert M. Friedenberg, of New York, David Sulzberger, of Philadelphia, and Lee M. Friedman, of Boston, a Committee on Nominations for the ensuing year.

Mr. Max J. Kohler read his paper, "The Projected Extension of the Scope of the Society to Embrace General Jewish History," in support of the amendment offered by him in Baltimore in 1906. After a discussion, definite consideration of the same was postponed until the next annual meeting.

An afternoon session and a concluding session on July 5th (morning) were held. It was recommended that the session of 1908 be held in New York. Mr. Friedenberg announced that at the next annual meeting he would offer an amendment to the constitution (Article 4 thereof) increasing from nine to twelve the number of additional members of the Executive Council.

The following necrologies were read. Isabella H. Rosenbach, by David Sulzberger; Rev. Raphael Benjamin, M. A., by Rev. Dr. Martin A. Meyer; Dr. Moritz Steinschneider, by Prof. S. Schechter; Dr. Samuel Leon Frank, by Prof. J. H. Hollander; Michael H. Cardozo, by Hon. N. Taylor Phillips; and Isaac S. Isaacs, by Hon. Adolphus S. Solomons.

The report of the Committee on Nominations was received, and its recommendation adopted as follows:

President, Dr. Cyrus Adler, Washington, D. C.; Vice-Presidents, Honorable Simon W. Rosendale, Albany, N. Y.; Rev. Dr. B. Felsenthal, Chicago, Ill.; Professor Charles Gross, Cambridge, Mass., and Professor Richard J. H. Gottheil, New York; Treasurer, Honorable N. Taylor Phillips, New York; Curator, Leon Hühner, New York; Corresponding Secretary, Max J. Kohler, Esq., New York; Recording Secretary, Dr. Herbert Friedenwald, New York. Additional Members of the Executive Council, Hon. Mayer Sulzberger, Philadelphia, Pa.; Professor J. H. Hollander, Baltimore, Md.; Honorable Simon Wolf, Washington, D. C.; J. Bunford Samuel, Esq., Philadelphia, Pa.; Rev. Dr. David Philipson, Cincinnati, O.; Rev. Henry Cohen, Galveston, Texas; Professor Morris Loeb, New York; Prof. Joseph Jacobs, New York; Charles J. Cohen, Philadelphia, Pa.; Honorable Oscar S. Straus, New York, *ex officio* as Past-President of the Society.

Hon. N. Taylor Phillips presented a copy of the genealogy of the Gomez family, and also, for the Committee on Resolutions stated that the thanks of the Society were due to the Newport Historical Society for the use of its rooms and collections. It was voted that the American Jewish Historical

Society become a life member of the Newport Society; Mr. R. Hammett Tilley, its treasurer and librarian, was elected a corresponding member by the Executive Council. The thanks of the Society were also extended the parnass and the chazan of the K. K. Jeshuat Israel, of Newport, for courtesies shown.

The following papers were read:

Samuel Oppenheim, of New York: "Some New Matter on the Early History of the Jews at Newport."

Leon Hühner, of New York: "Aaron Lopez, a Merchant Prince of Colonial Rhode Island."

Mrs. N. Taylor Phillips, of New York: "A Burial Place for the Jewish Nation Forever," an account of the cemetery on the New Bowery, New York.

Dr. Cyrus Adler, of Washington: "An Original Unpublished Document Relating to Thomas Tremino de Sobremonte (1638)"; "A Contemporary Memorial Relating to Damages to Spanish Interests in America Done by Jews of Holland (1634)."

J. Cassuto, Jr., of Hamburg, and Dr. Max Grunwald, of Vienna: "An Unpublished Transcript from the Records of the Portuguese Synagogue of Hamburg Regarding a Jewish Colony at Serepique (Sergipe), Brazil (1658)."

Hon. N. Darnell Davis, of Barbados, and J. Graham Cruickshank, of Georgetown, British Guiana: "Notes on Early Jews in the West Indies, Particularly in Barbados."

Albert M. Friedenberg, of New York: "The Influence of the German Revolutionary Movements of 1848-1849 on the Jews of America."

The Rev. B. H. Rosengard, of Newport: "The Historic Consciousness of Our Race."

Max J. Kohler, of New York: "Notes on the History of the Jews in Jamaica."

And the following, read by title:

Edmund H. Abrahams, of Savannah: "A Few Facts Relative to the Sheftall Family of Georgia."

Dr. Herbert Friedenwald, of New York: "Sectarianism in the State Constitutions of the United States."

The Rev. P. A. Hilfman, of Paramaribo: "Some Notes on the History of the Jews of Surinam."

Prof. J. H. Hollander, of Baltimore: "A Note on Jewish Influences in Longfellow's Verse."

Leon Hühner, of New York: "Some Additional Notes on the History of the Jews of Georgia in Colonial Times"; "Some Jewish Associates of John Brown."

Prof. Joseph Jacobs, of New York: "The Mediaeval Status of the Jew."

THE SIXTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING.

The sixteenth annual meeting of the American Jewish Historical Society was called to order on Sunday, May 17, 1908, at 10.30 a. m., at the Hotel Astor, New York City, seventy persons being present. The president, Dr. Cyrus Adler, was in the chair. Three sessions—morning, afternoon, and evening—were held.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that there are now 4 honorary, 4 life, 37 corresponding, and 220 regular members on the roll of the Society. Since the last meeting the Rev. S. Levy, M. A., of London, president of the Jewish Historical Society of England, and Mr. Julius F. Sachse, of Philadelphia, librarian of the Grand Lodge F. and A. M., of Pennsylvania, had been elected to corresponding membership by the Executive Council. Reference was also made to Pierce Butler's biography of Judah P. Benjamin.

The Treasurer, Hon. N. Taylor Phillips, rendered the following report:

REPORT OF TREASURER, OCTOBER 1, 1906, TO OCTOBER 1, 1907.

RECEIPTS.

Balance with Treasurer, in Broadway Trust Company, October 1, 1906	$1,829.87
Members' dues and back dues	1,050.00
Sale of Publications	94.20
Interest, current deposit, Broadway Trust Company, one year to July 1, 1907	64.73
	$3,038.80

EXPENSES.

Friedenwald Company, reprinting Publication No. 2...	$ 272.50
Friedenwald Company, expressage and postage.....	18.90
Friedenwald Company, printing Publication No. 15.....	444.96
Samuel Oppenheim, purchase of documents, expenses of investigation, etc., as per resolution of Council....	100.00
Deducted for exchanges, Broadway Trust Company...	2.10
Jewish Publication Society for subsidy to publication of Directory of Jewish Organizations, as per Council's appropriation	250.00
Fire Insurance premium.....	19.09
C. W. Shoemaker, for translations, etc.....	4.25
Printing and stationery.....	12.50
Albert M. Friedenberg, for indexing ($250 appropriated as per resolution of Council).....	7.02
Expenses of Corresponding Secretary's office.....	93.80
Newport Historical Society Life Membership.....	50.00
Balance with Treasurer, October 1, 1907.....	1,763.68
	$3,038.80

STATEMENT OF THE ASSETS OF THE SOCIETY, OCTOBER 1, 1907.

Balance, The Broadway Trust Co., of New York.....	$1,763.68
Present deposit in National Savings Bank of Albany, N. Y., October 1, 1907.....	2,762.89
Capital, October 1, 1907.....	$4,526.57

Messrs. Lee Kohns and Cyrus L. Sulzberger were appointed a committee to audit the treasurer's report. The indexing committee, Drs. Richard J. H. Gottheil and Herbert Friedenwald, and Mr. Albert M. Friedenberg, reported that it had completed an index of *The Occident,* of thirteen volumes of *The American Israelite,* and of fifty-three volumes of *The Jewish Messenger.* The report was received with thanks, the committee continued, and a further sum of $250 appropriated for its purposes. The curator, Mr. Leon Hühner, presented his report.

A committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year, composed of Messrs. Louis Marshall and Cyrus L. Sulzberger, and Prof. Richard J. H. Gottheil, was named by the Chair.

The following necrologies were read: Rev. Dr. Bernhard Felsenthal, by Rev. Dr. Joseph Stolz; Rev. Dr. Jacob Voorsanger, by Rev. Dr. J. Leon Magnes; Henry I. Hamburger, by Louis H. Levin; and Solomon W. Levi, by Rev. Dr. David Philipson.

After the president had read his address, at the evening session, the proposed amendment to the constitution to enlarge the scope of the Society was taken up. The principal argument in its favor was made by Professor Gottheil of Columbia University, Messrs. Louis Marshall, Max J. Kohler and Albert M. Friedenberg; those opposing it being Judge Rosendale and Messrs. Phillips and Hühner. On the vote the required two-thirds to pass it were lacking (the vote stood 11 to 10), and so a compromise amendment, approved by the Executive Council, was carried by a vote of 14 to 6. The Society now will, in addition to its former activities, endeavor "to promote the study of Jewish history in general, preferably so far as the same is related to American Jewish history or connected with the causes of emigration from various parts of the world to this continent." The amendment to increase the number of additional members of the Executive Council from 9 to 12 was unanimously carried, the three extra places to be filled subsequently by the new Executive Council.

The report of the Committee on Nominations was received, and the following officers were then elected: President, Dr. Cyrus Adler, Washington, D. C.; Vice-Presidents, Hon. Simon W. Rosendale, Albany; Prof. Chas. Gross, Cambridge, Mass.; Prof. Richard J. H. Gottheil, New York; Rev. Dr. David Philipson, Cincinnati; Treasurer, Hon. N. Taylor Phillips, New York; Curator, Leon Hühner, New York; Corresponding Secretary, Max J. Kohler, New York; Recording Secretary, Dr. Herbert Friedenwald, New York; Executive Council (additional members), Hon. Mayer Sulzberger, Philadelphia; Charles J. Cohen, Philadelphia; Prof. J. H. Hollander, Baltimore; Hon. Simon Wolf, Washington; J. Bunford Samuel, Philadelphia; Albert M. Friedenberg, New York; Rev. Henry Cohen, Galveston; Rev. Charles I. Hoffman, Newark; Prof.

Joseph Jacobs, New York; Hon. Oscar S. Straus, past-president, Washington.

It was announced that the children of the late Rev. J. J. Lyons had presented his valuable MS. collections to the Society. The question of their publication was referred to the Council for suitable action. The thanks of the Society were unanimously tendered to Miss and the Messrs. Lyons for their gift.

The following papers were read:

Leon Hühner, of New York: "Jewish Privateering in the Eighteenth Century"; "Some Jewish Associates of John Brown."

Hon. Walter H. Liebmann, of New York: "Correspondence Between Henry Clay and Solomon Etting, and Notes Thereon."

Albert M. Friedenberg, of New York: "West Indian Jewish Cemeteries—A Proposal"; "The Jews of New Jersey, from the Earliest Times to 1850."

Max J. Kohler, of New York: "Rodrigo Lopez, Queen Elizabeth's Jewish Physician, and his Relations to America."

Dr. Herbert Friedenwald, of New York: "Why This Is Not a Christian Country."

The following papers were read by title:

Dr. M. Grunwald, of Vienna: "A Note on Surinam."

Rev. P. A. Hilfman, of Paramaribo: "Additional Notes on the History of the Jews in Surinam."

Max J. Kohler, of New York: "Phases of Jewish Life in New York before 1800—III."

Isaac Markens, of New York: "Lincoln and the Jews."

Samuel Oppenheim, of New York: "An Early Jewish Colony in Western Guiana: Supplemental Data."

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ADDRESS OF DR. CYRUS ADLER, PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

New York, May 17, 1908.

To the Members and Friends of the American Jewish Historical Society.

Ladies and Gentlemen: It is my privilege to welcome you to this the sixteenth annual meeting of our Society. Custom has dictated the necessity of an address by the President. As I have pointed out on several occasions, this notion of a presidential address in a historical or scientific society usually carries with it the plan of electing a new president each year in order that he may have something fresh to bring to the members of the Society as the result of his studies or cogitations during the year. I have no such story to bring you and will, with your permission, discuss briefly some matters relating to the affairs of the Society itself, which bear upon its future development.

You will be asked a little later this evening to consider an amendment to the Constitution, which has to do with enlarging the scope of the Society's work, and it may be well therefore to take stock of what has been accomplished under the old régime, and what it is hoped to effect under the plan or plans proposed.

I cannot forbear referring at the outset to the loss the Society has sustained this year in the death of one of its vice-presidents, the late venerable Dr. B. Felsenthal of Chicago. A fitting tribute has been paid to him during the meeting by a member assigned to that duty. Here I wish to state that beside having lost a good friend in his passing away, there

has departed the man to whose initiative the existence of this Society is due, for it was back in 1888 that Dr. Felsenthal suggested that I should undertake to form a Jewish Historical Society in this country whose prime duty it should be to collect and preserve all the material concerning the history of Jews and Judaism in America. It was his idea that these documents, when collected, should be published in extenso or in digested form and serve as material for the future historian. Researches, he declared, were to be made in a systematic manner by men who know what scientific method is, and what is understood by the term objectivgeschichtsschreiben. I have not the letter of Dr. Felsenthal before me but have practically presented his words and you will see that it is largely upon the basis of his suggestion that the operations of our Society have been carried on.

The initial meeting of this Society was held in the city of New York on Monday, the 7th day of June, 1892, at the rooms of the Jewish Theological Seminary at 736 Lexington Avenue. The meeting was presided over by Oscar S. Straus who was elected the first president of the Society and served in that capacity until 1898, always taking a great interest in its work. At the organizing meeting the question arose as to the definition of the scope of the Society. It was urged on one hand that it should be limited to the United States. Some held the view that the entire American Continent should be considered as the scope of the Society's work, and still others favored extending the plan of operations to cover the entire field of Jewish history, ancient and modern. The middle course was chosen and the objects of the Society declared to be the collection, preservation, and publication of material, having reference to the settlement and history of Jews on the American Continent. Under the terms of this article we have proceeded in our work in a modest and conscientious fashion. I believe that we have gained respectful attention on the part of our own members and of a consider-

able number of students of American history generally. Our publications, now numbering sixteen volumes, are sought after, used and cited. To my regret we have not included within our body all of those actually engaged in the work in this country, but I suppose that occurrences of this nature are unavoidable, as there will always be an occasional individualist constitutionally unwilling or unable to associate himself with his fellows.

There is, of course, one inherent weakness in a scientific organization devoted to so narrow a specialty that the specialty itself is not of sufficient importance to attract any person to professionally engage in it. What I mean is this. We have undoubtedly brought together a body of interesting material. Other students, incited by our example, have also gone into this work. There is a greater tendency on the part of congregations and societies to preserve their own records; to hold celebrations; to mark their semi-centenaries and their centenaries and to publish some account of their origin and history upon these occasions. To-morrow night there will be held in this city such a centenary by the Congregation Shearith Israel of the Polonies Talmud Torah School, which is very probably the oldest Jewish educational institution in the United States still in existence. I venture to assert that the notable ceremonies on the occasion of the celebration of the 250th anniversary of the settlement of Jews in the United States, held in this city on Thanksgiving day, 1905, could never have been carried out in the very dignified and splendid way they were had it not been for the work of this Society. The important body of material about the history of the Jews in America brought together in the *Jewish Encyclopedia,* was likewise, in the main, based upon the publications of this Society and the additional researches of its members.

The fact has been established beyond all question that Jews were among the very earliest settlers of this Continent; that in the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries they were important fac-

tors in South America, in Mexico, in the West India Islands, and had even gone so far, in a sort of historical anticipation, as to reach those islands which we now euphemistically term territory subject to the jurisdiction of the United States—the Philippines; that Jews were present in the early formative period of all our thirteen colonies; that they helped develop the resources and the trade and commerce of the colonies; that they greatly influenced the establishment of religious toleration in the colonies, afterwards to blossom into perfect religious equality and liberty under the Constitution of the United States; that in overwhelming numbers they were on the side of freedom; that they fought in the Colonial Wars, aided in the commercial struggle against Great Britain, and had their place in the Revolutionary armies, North and South; that they played a useful part in the difficult task of financing the Revolutionary army and the Continental Congress. As illustrative of the position of Jews during and at the outbreak of the Revolution, I quote a sentence from the privately printed diary of Benjamin Rush, who says, "I remarked further that many of the children of Tory parents were Whigs, so were the Jews in all the States."

The fact has further been developed that in many of the colonies the Jews had an important social position; that they mingled freely with their fellow-citizens; that they had a considerable function, possibly a very important one in the introduction of the Masonic Order into the colonies, and that as they grew in numbers and influence they not only aided in the development of industries and our natural resources, but contributed to science, to art, to literature, to the medical and legal professions, to the stage, to the regular army and navy of the United States, to both volunteer armies in large numbers during our unhappy Civil War, to the army and navy in our more recent Spanish-American War, and members of distinction to the Bench, to both Houses of Congress, and at last one to the Cabinet of a President. In studying Mexico

and South America and the islands adjacent to our coast, the fact has been brought out that Jews contributed to both commerce and agriculture, to the mining industries, and I regret to say also to the fires of the Inquisition.

Now the object of this statement is not to glorify the work of the Society at all. It is simply to indicate to you the result of the lines upon which it has followed. These are interesting no doubt, and in a restrained sense important, but not, as I have said before, of sufficient importance to have caused any man to devote his life exclusively to this work. No university or college has established a chair of American Jewish history, nor even a regular or systematic course of lectures on the subject, and in all probability these institutions were right because after all our fragment of history in this country is too small.

Indeed in order to understand it we must go to other countries. Why did the Jews of Spain and Portugal come in such large numbers to this Continent immediately after its discovery? The story of the expulsion of the Jews of Spain and the history of the Spanish Inquisition are a part of American Jewish history. What was it that brought Jews from Poland to this country prior to our Revolutionary War? A study of the change of Jewish fortunes due to the partition of Poland is part of American Jewish history. What induced the steady considerable migration of German Jews to the United States beginning about 1830 and increasing in volume between 1848 and 1870? The revolutions and counter revolutions and political and economic catastrophes which affected Continental Europe as a result of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars must be studied to explain the migration of probably two hundred thousand people. What has caused the movement to this country of a million and a quarter of Russian and Roumanian Jews within the past quarter of a century, a movement almost reaching the dignity of the migration of a people? The world knows only too well the cause

and it is the duty of the student of American Jewish history to be a student of the history of Russia. And to England, and to Holland, and to France, and to Austria, and to numerous other countries we must go for our origins.

Conversely we have reacted upon Jews in other countries, and in studying the diplomatic history of the United States with reference to our particular subject, we are led to Turkey and Egypt and Persia and Morocco and Switzerland, as well as to Russia and Roumania and Austria. Of course many of these studies could be undertaken under our present organization, and indeed a few of them have, but it behooves us to look the facts in the face. The professional students of Jewish history are not to any considerable extent engaged in the study of our local history. We need their aid and should have a platform broad enough to ensure it. We also need a proper perspective and this can only be obtained by aligning ourselves with the whole body of Jewish history.

I hope and believe that this Society will always cultivate the history of the Jews on the American Continent, but I should like to make place in it and a hearty welcome in it for all students of the history of the Jews, that great and matchless history whose duration has never been equalled by any other people. I should even hope that the simplest and broadest amendment to the Constitution would be adopted by adding to the present formula the words "and to Jewish History in general" and then interpret history in its very largest sense. That we do not limit ourselves to political history or institutional history or ecclesiastical history but that the life of the people and all that relates to it should be included within our purview, so that there will be no necessity for a few scholars getting together in one place and forming a society of ancient Jewish history, and a few in another to form a society of Jewish statistics, or any other minute specialty, but that under the shelter of this organization now firmly established there should be carried on all investigations

undertaken upon our soil which relate to the history of our people.

I can point out to you that the course that is proposed is not at all likely to submerge the study of American Jewish history as has been feared by some. The American Historical Association, our national society for the study of history does not limit itself to American history, but also includes the study of history in America, thus providing a place for students of ancient history and of European history. Naturally the bulk of the material brought together and published relates to American history, but it has been a wise provision I think, which has not rendered necessary the formation of two societies of historians in the United States. Henry C. Lea and John B. McMaster may work together in one organization. If I might give another instance it would be that of the development of our own National Museum, with which I am reasonably familiar. It is the museum of the Nation and preserves all objects of science and art which belong to the Nation. Naturally there is a preponderance of American material because it is the first duty of scholars to investigate that which lies closest to their hand, but for the purpose of rounding out a collection and to render possible real comparative study, collections from all parts of the world are necessary. This I believe to be the true policy of our own organization, and with these statements which I have presented to you with a deep sense of my own responsibility, I invite the consideration of the proposed amendments to Article 2 of the Constitution.

DR. RODRIGO LOPEZ, QUEEN ELIZABETH'S JEWISH PHYSICIAN, AND HIS RELATIONS TO AMERICA.

By Max J. Kohler, A. M., LL. B.

The career of Rodrigo Lopez, with its remarkable vicissitudes culminating in an ignominious death, belongs properly to European or Anglo-Jewish history, for the few incidents interlinking his name with American history are comparatively unimportant and purely casual. Under these circumstances it is not strange that our associates in England should occupy themselves with tracing his fortunes, though the American incidents hereinafter referred to have escaped their attention, apparently. Lopez was in effect rediscovered, even for the historical student, in 1880, when our co-religionist Sidney Lee published a paper dealing with him in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (February, 1880) with the suggestive title "The Original of Shylock"; subsequently, the same writer prepared a valuable biography of this physician and diplomat for a volume of the *Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by him, in which he withholds acceptance of various earlier, more tentative conjectures concerning Lopez. Mr. Lee, in each article, espouses the cause of the unfortunate, and describes him as an innocent victim of race prejudice and bigotry which brought him to the gallows on the shocking charge of conspiracy to poison his royal patient at the instance of Philip II of Spain for a consideration of 50,000 crowns. (Compare Mr. Lee's paper on "Elizabethan England and the Jews," *Transaction of the New Shakespearean Society*, 1887-1892, Pt. II, p. 158.) It is not without interest to observe a fact none of Lopez's biographers have noted,

that even before this an American Jewish jurist, Judge Philip J. Joachimsen of New York, with but little of Mr. Lee's historical material at his command, had penned what he called a "Historical Vindication of a Martyrized Jew against John Lothrop Motley" in the same cause (*The Reformer and Jewish Times,* Vol. X, January 24, 1879: compare article in the *Jewish World,* January, 1880.) The credit, however, for first tracing the connection of Lopez with Shakespeare's masterpiece belong to Mr. Lee, and he has demonstrated this relationship, less even by reference to various suggestive passages and names in "The Merchant of Venice" having a clear reference to the career of Elizabeth's physician, than by pointing out that the British public was wildly inflamed against "the Jew doctor" in and about 1594, the year of Lopez's execution, and was in a mood to welcome any work appealing to the anti-Semitic feeling of the day, and in consequence, at least three works with Jews in the villain's rôle were produced and became popular about this time.

Mr. Lucien Wolf, in his paper on "The Middle Age of Anglo-Jewish History, 1290-1656" (*Papers Read at the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition*) in 1887 said as to Lopez (p. 69):

> Mr. Lee has argued very plausibly for the innocence of Lopez, but I must confess that, in face of the ingeniously constructed network of evidence produced at the trial, I was not convinced that he was the mere victim of a Court intrigue. I have since however had occasion to modify my view, principally in consequence of the new evidence brought forward by M. Forneron in his "Histoire de Philippe II" (IV 266 et seq.). Here it is shown conclusively that Philip had no interest in procuring Elizabeth's death, that Lopez was employed to negotiate terms of peace with the Queen, and that the charges alleged against the Jewish doctor and the secret envoys from Spain were trumped up with the object of incensing the English public against Spain.

More recently, in his valuable "Menasseh Ben Israel's Mission to Oliver Cromwell" (1901), the able Past President

of the Jewish Historical Society of England makes the following suggestive remark (p. xv):

> The secret negotiations carried on by Roderigo Lopez, through his influential Marrano relatives with the Grand Turk and with the Hebrew bankers of Antwerp and Leghorn, have yet to be made public; but it is certain that they played an important part in the story which culminated in the confusion of the Great Armada.

Among these relatives was Jacob Aben Jaes, Duke of Mytilene, who was himself uncle to Don Joseph Nassi, Duke of Naxos (*id.*, p. 159). But, intermediate between the dates of publication of these two works of Mr. Wolf, a detailed account of Lopez's alleged treason and trial, based on a careful study in extenso of the English Domestic State Papers, was contributed by Rev. Arthur Dimock to the *English Historical Review* (Vol. IX, 1894, pp. 440-473) who thus concludes his very careful and painstaking account (p. 470):

> Unless the documents at Simancas, when forthcoming, or some other evidence at present undiscovered should suggest his innocence, we too must accept the Guildhall verdict of guilty.

But more light was to come from the very source indicated by Mr. Dimock. Three years after Dimock, Mr. Hume, the editor of the Spanish State Papers of Elizabeth, in his *Life of Philip II of Spain* in the *Foreign Statesmen Series,* says:

> He (Perez) persuaded the Queen that her physician, the Jew, Dr. Lopez, had plotted with Philip to murder her. There was just enough foundation to give a plausible appearance to the assertion, and Lopez was executed (June 7th, 1594). That he was ready to undertake such commissions was doubtless true, but evidence is now forthcoming which tends to show that in this case Perez lied and that Lopez was innocent. (See forthcoming Volume IV of "Calendar of Spanish State Papers of Elizabeth.")

The Spanish State Papers thus referred to are transcripts of the secret correspondence of Philip and his ministers with their agents, and they disprove the charges against Lopez.

In an interesting chapter on Lopez in his *Treason and Plot,* Major Martin Hume utilized this and other material. It would thus appear that there have been Dreyfus affairs also in other days!

But to come at length to the relations to America of Lopez, which are the justification for the presentation here of this paper. They are three in number, two being cursory and requiring little attention, the third, however, being curious and more important.

(1) *Lopez and Sir Francis Drake.*—Lopez seems to have been brought, at several stages of his career, into close contact with Sir Francis Drake, whose name figures so prominently in American history. Mr. Wolf states (*The Middle Age of Anglo-Jewish History,* p. 67): "Rodrigo Lopez is stated to have been one of the prisoners captured by Drake in his predatory excursions on the Spanish Main, and there is some show of confirmation for this statement." If this be true, it would explain Lopez's interest in and familiarity with American affairs, but as Mr. Lee has established (*Dictionary of National Biography*), that Lopez settled in England already in 1559, this theory seems untenable. There is no doubt, however, that he was subsequently brought into close relations with Drake in his capacity as an influential patron and sponsor with Elizabeth. In fact, we learn that he took Drake several times to see the Queen in connection with the expedition against Portugal which Lopez induced the Queen to fit out in 1589 in aid of Don Antonio, the Portuguese pretender, which was thereafter placed in command of Drake, and which Lopez seems to have financed (*Calendar of State Papers, Spanish 1580-1586,* edited by Martin A. S. Hume, p. 672; Corbett, *Drake and the Tudor Navy,* p. 352). He seems also to have aided in 1591 in developing a plan for the capture of Brazil by Don Antonio, in conjunction with Prince of Bearn and Drake. (*Id., Domestic, Elizabeth,* Vol. III, p. 16, also Corbett, p. 217.) By thus securing royal favor for

Drake, he was destined to render signal services to the American cause.

(2) *Lopez's Monopoly of Anniseed and Sumach Importations.*—The Queen granted to her physician an exclusive license for a term of years to import these articles into England, and we know that he applied, though unsuccessfully, to Elizabeth in 1589 for a renewal for 31 years of this monopoly. America seems, already at this time, to have been a source of supply of these products. (*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series of Reign of Edward VI, Elizabeth, etc.,* Vol. II, 1581-1590, p. 609.)

(3) This leads to the third incident in Lopez's connection with America, which was indeed a curious one. While allowing the narratives of these events, nearly contemporary, to speak for themselves in an appendix, especially as we have accounts of a very curious character from three different sources (M. Oppenheim, *A History of the Administration of the Royal Navy,* I, 390-9 (Appendix A); Malynes, *Lex Mercatoria,* p. 91 (Appendix B); *Calendars of State Papers, Spanish, 1587-1603,* pp. 597-598 (Appendix C)), the facts may here be briefly summarized as follows: The Popes about this period, especially Sixtus V and his successor, resorted very freely to the sale of indulgences as a source of revenue, especially for the American colonies (Lea's *History of Confessions and Indulgences,* III, 429, 425-7; see also Dr. Lea's article on "Indulgences in Spain" in Vol. I of the reports of the *American Church History Society.*)

Dr. Lea points out on the authority of Priuli that the extension of the Cruzada to the New World by Gregory the 13th had resulted in an increase of 500,000 ducats in revenue, showing that the Indians and colonies had been industriously exploited. In the Indies, the indulgences ran for two years instead of one, and the prices varied from one to two pesos. In 1594 we find St. Toribo, Archbishop of Lima, spurred on by a letter from Philip the second, exhorting the priests

to stimulate the sale of the Cruzada among their parishioners. Dr. Lea (*id.,* Vol. III, pp. 425-7) shows what large revenue Philip the second derived from the sale of indulgences.

Apparently American license and lawlessness afforded a particularly promising market for the sale thereof. Accordingly, two vessels, the St. Francisco and the St. Peter were fitted out from Spain for Peru, laden among other things, with a million and a half of these Papal "bulls." The vessels and their freight were captured, however, by one Captain White of the "Amity" and brought to England, and whether from a sense of conscious or unconscious humor, Queen Elizabeth graciously presented these Papal indulgences to her Jewish, or rather Marrano, physician Lopez, apparently in conjunction with Francisco Spinola, a Genoese captured by the British on his way from New Spain, and then a well-known London banker (*State Papers, Domestic Series, id.,* Vol. II, p. 609; Corbett, *id.,* pp. 119-120). They fitted out a vessel under a passport from Elizabeth and placed these bulls on board, for sale on their own account in Spanish America. It may be conceded that this was a novel commercial venture for a Jew to engage in, but it must be confessed that Lopez always had great respect for money and money's worth and was ever eager to devise methods of money-getting. The Spanish State Papers, however, contain a copy of secret despatches forwarded by Philip II's agent, Don Pedro de Valdes to his royal master, March 29, 1593, acquainting him with this scheme even before the vessel left England. (*Spanish Series, 1587-1603,* pp. 597-598.) The Papal agent, accordingly, stopped their sale in America when they arrived there, on the ground that they had lost their virtue by having been in heretic possession, whereupon Lopez's factor, not to be outdone, said they had been miraculously saved; but the speculation is reported to have been a failure. Malynes' account of the incident, in his "Lex Mercatoria" published in London in 1636, is very amusing; he

seems to have officially appraised these very indulgences. Soon after this vessel left England, Lopez, moreover, had more serious concerns to occupy him, for he was arrested on the charge already mentioned, in January, 1594.

Leaving these American incidents, a few remarks about Lopez and of comment on his trial, may not be amiss. He appears to have settled in England about 1559, and ranks high on Stowe's list of the chief London practitioners in 1574, when he attended Secretary Walsingham professionally, was house physician at St. Bartholomew's, and soon after became medical adviser to the household of Leicester. Later on he added Elizabeth's favorite, the Earl of Essex, to his patients. Lopez was ostensibly a member of the Church of England, but his Jewish antecedents and Jewish faith were well known to his contemporaries, and his correspondence not merely shows that he kept in close touch with his Jewish relatives in Antwerp, Spain, Portugal and the East, but that he was engaged in performing secret services for the Jews. His brother Luis also figures in contemporary papers, as also his wife, Sarah, a Jewess, and a son at Winchester College and two daughters. In 1586 he became physician-in-chief to Queen Elizabeth.

Concerning the charges against Lopez, the following circumstances should be noted, which Major Howe has elaborated in a chapter in his *Treason and Plot,* pp. 115-152. He was approached by various magnates of Elizabeth's Court, who knew that he was in correspondence with relatives and friends in Spain and Portugal, to get secret State Intelligence for them, but refused at first, stating that he wished to be a physician and nothing more, until the Queen herself is said to have intervened. To get the desired information, it was necessary for him to open communication with people at or about Philip's Court, and for years he reported his intelligence to Elizabeth's counsellors. To have reported all he learnt, unimportant as well as important matters, indiscriminately, was likely to disable him from getting further information, to

expose his correspondents, especially Marranos, to the chance of discovery and punishment at Philip's hands, and, in addition, to eliminate himself as a factor, by permitting direct resort by the Crown to his foreign correspondents. The fact that he does not appear to have reported all he learnt to his British employers, which is the strongest evidence of guilt against him, has little probative value, as indicating that he was secretly betraying Elizabeth in Philip's interest. Similarly, the circumstance that Philip and some of his agents may have believed that Lopez was secretly in their interest has little weight in view of the uncontrovertible fact that he was engaged in getting information for the English Court by such devices, and in fact reported to them. If there were evidence that he delivered important *secret* information to Spain, gathered in England, or withheld important Spanish news from his English employers, the situation would be different, though even in the latter contingency, he might be regarded as guilty of a mere error of judgment in withholding or giving something, in order to secure more important information. But there is no evidence of any such fact—though on his trial every incident was greatly exaggerated to his detriment—if we except the alleged poisoning plot with which he was charged to have been connected, and the existence of which, even upon the evidence of the English papers, was doubtful, and which the Spanish papers negative. Besides, Lopez naturally kept secret his own continued relations with Judaism and Jews, for his own protection as well as theirs, so necessarily he was engaged in some secret correspondence. Moreover, Elizabeth's Court was a network of conflicting intrigues in which various favorites sought to outdistance each other, and Lopez took sides in these controversies. The knowledge that came to one magnate was carefully withheld from another, often yielding an increased consideration because of such monopoly value. Moreover, Lopez's position gave him particularly favorable opportunities to serve the

Queen herself directly from time to time, and she clearly kept matters secret occasionally, even from various of her own chief counsellors. There is a strong undercurrent running through the mazes of the Lopez prosecution which indicates that the Queen herself directed him to remain silent in the course of the prosecution, and depend upon her, and that she would see him harmless. Thus we learn from Bishop Goodman's "Court of King James I," an author who wrote on the authority of participants in these proceedings soon after they occurred, that even before his trial Lopez importuned the Queen from the Tower and Elizabeth answered that he should suffer no wrong but that it was only right and just he should answer the very grave charges brought against him; that in the course of his trial he "did not reveal those secrets that past between the Queen and himself," and that, after his conviction, "Lopez continued petitioning the Queen—a story likely enough—and that Elizabeth assured him that his imprisonment should be brief and that he should soon be restored to liberty, with no more serious injury than the temporary loss of his practice."

Leaving aside, however, these possibly biased statements of an antagonist of Essex, we are bound to recognize the fact that Lopez, as a foreigner, as a Jew and for personal reasons, had aroused many enmities. Throughout his career, he had to struggle against race prejudice. Moreover he had sorely offended Essex, Elizabeth's powerful favorite, who had sworn to encompass his ruin. When he was originally arrested, there was no thought or suggestion of any poisoning plot against him; the charge then was treasonable intercourse with Philip II. Of course Essex was the one who directed his arrest. We learn that he was immediately examined before Burghley, Robert Cecil and Essex, and that the two former were at once convinced that the accusations against him were groundless. They promptly advised the Queen, with the result that when Essex again appeared before

her, she called him to his face, in the presence of Robert Cecil and Lord Howard of Effingham, "a rash and temerarious youth," charged him with bringing this ruinous accusation of high treason against her trusty servant from sheer malice, and told him that she knew Lopez to be innocent, and that her honor was at stake in seeing justice done. Well may our chroniclers report that "at the close of the stormy audience Essex quitted the royal presence in a violent passion." It was after this scene, and when Essex would leave no stone unturned to ruin Lopez that the poisoning story first is broached, in effect as a substitute for the earlier Spanish spy story, though one would corroborate the other. The story goes that his two accomplices, separately and independently examined, told the same story, implicating Lopez and each other, each seeking to exculpate himself. The identity of the narratives was the strong probative circumstances against Lopez, yet how easily these two may have been concocted by the same interested third person, having so much at stake! Moreover, when the two found that their reliance upon expectations of self-saving were unfounded, the statements were speedily withdrawn and denied. As for the alleged confessions of Lopez himself, they are not set forth and there can be little doubt that admissions of relations with Spain may have been made by him—and so described—previously unknown to his judges, but which in no way indicate necessarily any guilt on Lopez's part. Besides, there seems little doubt that the rack and fear of the rack extorted these confessions from him, such as they were. Moreover, the fantastic and improbable character of the alleged treason story is indicated by the fact, that expressions in correspondence between Lopez and his alleged confederates are twisted and distorted, so that the word "peace" in a letter to Lopez is described as used to denote the secret words "death of the queen" and "the letter which was required of the lord treasurer" to denote a letter Lopez was to be induced to write in

his own hand, promising to remain and obey Philip. The Spanish records, indicating efforts to employ him as negotiator for a peace, show that these words were employed in their natural sense. It was only the intense anti-Spanish feeling, in these days so closely following the Spanish Armada, and rife with alleged conspiracies against the Queen's life—and conversely against Philip's at the supposed instigation of Elizabeth—that could make these charges plausible. As it was, Burghley and Cecil and Egerton and Coke, at the beginning of the proceedings, were inclined to favor the accused. After his conviction, before a court of fifteen judges and "a most substantial jury," Elizabeth long delayed and refrained from signing his death warrant, though she did finally do so, and Lopez and his alleged confederates met their fate, Lopez earnestly protesting his innocence to the end. Even after his death, Elizabeth showed favor to his widow, and remitted forfeitures. The cause created an immense sensation at the time, and at least three official contemporary reports of the case were prepared, of which one, by Lord Bacon (Spedding's *Letters and Life of Francis Bacon,* London, 1861, Vol. I, pp. 271-287) is the best known. It may be added that not only Bishop Goodman but also Lingard, the historian—neither of whom was familiar with the Spanish papers—espoused the view that Lopez was innocent.

Since the above was written, I have had the privilege of reading an interesting paper by Major Martin Hume on "The So-Called Conspiracy of Dr. Rey Lopez," read before the Jewish Historical Society of England on April 27, 1908, and printed as an advance fascicule of *Transactions,* Vol. VI. It indicates that Major Hume has studied additional unpublished material since he published his work "Treason and Plot." As Major Hume is the undisputed authority on this period of English history, and as his last utterance is even more emphatically and persuasively a vindication of Dr. Lopez, some

of his additional arguments in favor of Queen Elizabeth's physician may profitably be summarized herein. Major Hume points out that England was at this period divided between the "War Party" with Essex at its head, and a "Peace Party," and that the former was naturally zealous in spreading reports about conspiracies against the Queen's life, at the supposed instance of Phillip II, in order to stir up war with Spain. After investigation, he is of opinion that nearly every one of the so-called murder-plots to kill Queen Elizabeth was "founded on extremely slender foundation," though the Lopez plot was undoubtedly that which most impressed the public mind and also caused the "bitterest feelings against Lopez as a Jew." As above pointed out, it is an examination of the original Spanish records which Major Hume relies upon mainly as demonstrating Lopez's innocence. As a physician and an Oriental at that, the public mind in the 16th century would easily, *a priori,* associate his name with poisoning plots. As Dr. Lopez, together with most of the supporters of Don Antonio, the Spanish Pretender, abandoned his cause after the failure of the invasion of Portugal of 1589, efforts on Lopez's part to bring about peace would naturally have aroused the bitterest enmity on the part of the party of Essex, and Shakespeare also belonged to the "Essex House set." Major Hume's new analysis of the Lopez conspiracy is masterly, and shows the genesis of the conspiracy charge, and how the death of Secretary Walsingham, just before Lopez's arrest, removed the patron who alone was undoubtedly privy to and cognizant of the details of his employment on behalf of England, to open peace negotiations with Phillip II. He also points out that Andrada's original "confession," though branded as a pack of lies by every English historian, was substantially true and in accord with the Spanish authorities, and it was only subsequently that the false evidence against Lopez was injected, for self-serving purposes. As to Essex's reproof from Queen Elizabeth upon causing Lopez's arrest,

Major Hume comments that "thenceforward it touched his (Essex's) public honor to bring Lopez to the gallows, innocent or guilty. From this hour Lopez was doomed. Not a word, recollect, had been said hitherto about any design to kill the queen but the excitement about Spanish plots ran high, and the spies and agents of Essex were busy. A mere hint was sufficient and somehow, no one knew how or from whence, the rumor ran that the Jew Lopez, who held the queen's life in his hand, had planned to poison his benefactress." It should also be noted that Major Hume's further investigations show that the claim that Dr. Lopez was disposed to undertake the commission to poison his other royal patient, Don Antonio, more or less guardedly accepted by him in the passage quoted above from his earlier work "A Life of Philip II," rests on mere hearsay, in part at least shown to have been incorrect, and that Mr. Hume's maturer judgment does not lead him to accept these views.

APPENDIX "A."

Oppenheim's A History of the Administration of the Royal Navy.

APPENDIX D.

A PRIVATEER OF 1592.

The two prizes taken by the Amity were the St. Francisco of 130, and the St. Peter of 150 tons, laden with 112 tons of quicksilver, and 28 tons of bulls, 1,458,000 in number, for 'lyvinge bodyes' and 'dead bodyes,' which were to be sold in New Spain at two reals apiece. The ships also carried some wine, and the freightage paid to the owners was 40 ducats a ton. The armament of the St. Peter is not given but was probably little more then the St. Francisco which carried three iron guns, two copper pieces of 20 quintals each, and one of 14 quintals. There were 90 round and 40 chain shot for these guns with 9 quintals of powder. Twenty muskets and other arms of offence and defence, were also carried. Her crew numbered 28 men and 2 boys and she was licensed to take twenty passengers; if therefore 126 persons were found in the two ships after the action, the St.

Peter must have furnished a much larger proportion or there must have been, as was common enough, a number of unlicensed passengers. If a loss of two killed and three wounded, in an action lasting five hours and with two antagonists, was an ordinary one, fighting at sea can not be considered, in view of the normal mortality from disease on shore in the sixteenth century, to have added materially to the risks of life.

According to Malyne these Bulls were laded by Sixtus V. When they came to England Dr. Lopez, the Queen's physician, who was afterwards executed on a charge of being concerned in a plot to murder her, obtained them by purchase or as a gift. He and a partner started them again for the West Indies but the Pope's agent stopped their sale, alleging that they had lost their virtue by having been in heretic possession. The factor representing Lopez, not to be outdone, said that they had been miraculously saved, but the speculation was a failure.

LANSDOWNE MSS., 70-23.

The ordre and mannour of the takinge of the twoo Shippes laden with Quicksilver and the Pope's bulles bound for the West Indas by the Amitie of London, Master, Thomas Whytte.

The 26th of July 1592 being in 36 degrees or thereabouts, about 4 of the clocke in the morninge, wee had sight of the said Shippes beinge distaunte ffrom us about 3 or 4 leagues; by 7 of the clocke we ffeatched them up and were within goonn shotte whose boldnes (havinge the kinges armes dysplaide) did make us conceave them rather to be ships of warr then laden with merchandize. And as yt dothe appeare by some of theire owne Speeches they made full accompte to have taken us, and was Question amongst them whyther they should carrye us to St. Lucar or Lishebonn. Wee wayfed eche other amaine, they havinge placed themselves in warlyke ordre, thone a cabolles lenght before thoother, we begonne the fight in the which we continued so faste as we were able to chardge and dyschardge the space of fyve houres, being never a cabells lenght dystaunte eyther of us the one from the other, in which tyme wee receaved divers shottes both in the hull of our ship, mastes and sayles, to the number of xxxii greate shotte which we told after the ffighte besydes fyve hundred muskett shotte and harquebuye acroke at the least. And for that wee perceaved they were stoute, we thought good to boorde the byskaine which was a heade the other, where lyinge aboord aboute an houre plyinge our ordenaunce and small

shotte with the which we stowed all his men; now they in the flybotte makinge accompte that wee had entreed our menn, bare Roome with us, meaninge to have laide us aboorde, and so to have entrapped us betwene them both, which we perceavinge, made redy ordenaunce and fytted us, so as wee quitted ourselves of him, and he boorded his ffelowe, by which meanes they both fell from us. Then presently we kepte our looffe, hoysed our topsayles, and weathered them, and came hard aboord the flibotte with our ordenaunce prepared, and gave her our whole broadeside with the which wee slewe divers of theire menn, so as wee might perceave the bloud to Runne out at the Scoopers; after that wee caste aboute, and new chardged all our ordenaunce and came upon them againe and wylled them Amaine, or else wee would synke them, whereupon the one would have yelded which was shotte betweene wind and watter, but the other called him traytour; unto whom we mad answere that if he would not yeld presently also we would synke him first. And thereupon he undrestaundinge our determinacon, presently put out a whyt fflagg and yelded, howbeyt they refused to stryke theire owne Sayles, for that they were sworne never to stryke to any Englishmann. Wee then commaunded the captaines and masters to come aboorde of us which they dyd and after examinacon and stowinge them, wee sent aboord them, strooke theire sayles and manned theire shipps, findinge in them bothe one hundreed and twenty and six soules lyvinge, and eight deade, besides those which they themselves had caste overboorde, so yt pleased God to geve us the victorye, being but 42 menn and a boye, of the which ther were two killed and three wounded, ffor which good succeasse wee geve the onely prayse to Allmightye God.

APPENDIX "B."

Malynes' Lex Mercatoria, 1636 (Edition of 1686, p. 91).

I had almost forgotten the most memorable Contracts that ever were, whereby the Philosopher Elixar or Stone is found, turning Lead, Paper and Ink into Gold and Silver; which is the Contract of Popes for the Crusades or Bulls, whereof there are certain Contractors, who for a certain sum of Money, yearly to be paid, do receive authority to disperse the said Pardons or Bulls into the West Indies, Peru, Nova Hispaynie and all those quarters of the World, and every reasonable Soul must have one of them yearly. And that this is the most beneficial Contract, I prove thus.

In the year 1591 Pope Sixtus Quintus caused two Ships to be laden out of Spain for the West Indies as aforesaid with some 100 Bulls of Sack, 1400 little Chests, containing each of them three ordinary small Barrels of Quick-silver, weighing 50 lbs. the piece to refine the Silver withal in the said Indies; and moreover a great number of packs of the said Printed Bulls or Pardons granted at that time, to make provision against the Hereticks; forsomuch that the great Armada in the year 1588 had so much exhausted the Treasure of Spain. These two Ships were met withal at Sea by Captain White, who was laden and bound for Barbary, and brought into England by him, where the Commodities were sold; but the Popes Merchandise (being out of request) remained a long time in ware-houses (I, Ch. 19 of "Buying and Selling of Commodities by Contract") at the disposing of Queen Elizabeth; until at last at the earnest request of her Physician Dr Lopez she gave all the said great quantity of Bulls unto him, amounting to many thousands in number. This Courtly Merchant, falling in communication with an Italian Knight who had been a merchant, did conclude with the said Knight to make a partable Voyage between them, and send those Bulls into the West Indies; and accordingly a Ship was freighted and laden with the said Bulls and some other Commodities, and did perform the said Voyage to the Indies. But no sooner arrived, the Popes Contractor for that Commodity did seize upon all the said Bulls, and caused an information to be given against them, that they were infected, having been taken by Heretiques. It was alledgt that they were miraculously saved, but lost they were and confiscated, and so Covetousness was well rewarded. But running to prove this beneficial Contract, I was at the time of the taking of the said Bulls, willed by Authority to make and estimate what the lading of these two Ships might cost, and what they might have been worth in the West Indies, according to the rate of every Bull, taxed at two Royals of plate, and some four and some eight Royals, according to their limitation, every one being but one Sheet of Paper. And by one computation the lading did not cost fifty thousand pounds and would have yielded about six hundred thousand pounds. For these Contracts are servent and full of devotion containing also a commandment, That their beds should be Sold rather than any one should be without a Bull, for the safety of the Soul was to be preferred before the health and ease of the Body.

APPENDIX "C."

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS. SPANISH. 1587-1603.

P. 597 March 19, 1593. Don Pedro de Valdes to the King.

"The two quicksilver ships are also here with the papal bulls that were being sent to Peru. If they be not soon ransomed everything will be lost. As nothing has yet been discharged from the ships, I think a favorable arrangement could be made, if your Majesty will send orders on the matter, to this Italian. The bargain can be settled by him on better terms than by anyone else and with greater secrecy and safety. If your Majesty decides to do anything in this matter, I pray that I may be informed thereof without delay."

P. 598 March 29.

"By my last letter of 19th ultimo, I gave your Majesty an account of the state in which the bulls, missals and breviaries from the quicksilver ships bound to the Indies remained in England. I learned yesterday by advices from there dated 13th, inst., that Francisco Spinola, the Genoese, a prisoner in London, who was captured on his way from New Spain, had obtained his liberation and had purchased the missals etc. He had also bought a vessel with the intention of again shipping them for New Spain, under a passport granted to him by the Queen. This was being done with so much diligence that it was expected that the ship would be equipped and ready for sea within 12 or 15 days. It appears to me that if Spinola is doing this without your Majesty's permission, he is doing a very daring thing. I shall learn particulars by next advices, and will duly inform your Majesty."

ORIGINAL UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THOMAS TREMINO DE SOBREMONTE (1638).

By Dr. Cyrus Adler.

One of the best known of the South American martyrs of the Inquisition was *Tomas Tremino* (*Trebino* or *Trevino*) *de Sobremonte.* He has been discussed in our publications by Mr. Kohut, the writer, and others, and frequently referred to in other publications, as well as briefly described in the *Jewish Encyclopedia.*

Through the courtesy of Mr. David Ferguson, I am able to lay before the Society two Inquisition documents relating to this remarkable man, which, whilst not casting any important new light upon his career, nevertheless approximately fix his date, which, though fairly ascertained before, was yet the subject of dispute.

The documents are given herewith:

Folio 270.

DON DIEGO PANTOJA

AGAINST

TOMAS TREMIÑO DE SOBREMONTE.

In the city of Mexico, Tuesday, thirteenth day of the month of April, Sixteen hundred and thirty-eight, the Inquisitor Licentiate Gaspar de Valdespinas being in his afternoon audience he ordered to enter therein a man who came voluntarily, from whom was received an oath in due form of law, under which he promised to speak the truth and who said his name is Don Diego Pantoja, a native of the city of Toledo residing in this city and lives in the palace, and who came as an office seeker with his Excellency, who appeared to be about twenty-four years old, a little more or less, and he said that for unburdening his conscience, he being in the

city of Zacatecas about the middle of last Lent of this year, and desirous of coming to this city, an opportunity offered to come in company with a man named Thomas Tremiño, who is a resident of this city and lives in Eagle street, in front of the Picazo, and a youth named Matias also came in his company, whose surname he does not know, a native of Navarre living in the palace and likewise a youth, the son of a tailor residing in this city whom they call Pug Nose and he does not know the youth's name, who told this declarant that the said Thomas Tremiño and his wife have been reconciled by this Holy Office, upon which this declarant formed a private opinion against the said Thomas Tremiño de Sobremonte, and he said so to the said Mathias, and they came heedful on the road, watching his actions in order to judge from them whether he was an observer of the law of Moses, so as to inform this Holy Office thereof. And they noticed that on their way coming together to Mexico, whenever they took dinner and supper, on ending, one of them always said praised be the most holy Sacrament and both of them always responded Amen. And they observed that the said Thomas Tremiño never responded thus, but much good may it do your worships, and the same thing happened at the hour of vespers, which confirmed more the suspicion this declarant and his comrade had formed about him, and in order to verify it more fully this declarant told his two companions that when they finished dinner he would say praised be the holy Sacrament, and that they should not make any response, to see if the said Tremiño would respond as he ought to, and having done so and the comrades having kept silent, and only having raised their hats, the said Tremiño responded as usual saying much good may it do your worships. And that he also observed the said Tremiño reading a small book like *the hours*, and said he recited them and although this confessant tried to see what book it was, and if it was the *Hours*, he never could lay his hands on it. And that a few days after having arrived in this city, which he thinks was the first or second day after last Christmas, he met him on Relose (Watch) Street, near Santa Catalina de Sena Convent, about noon, and after having saluted him he told him to look out, that he and his comrades had observed that he could not be a Christian because he did not fulfill the duties of one; for every faithful Christian was obliged to make a reverence and obeisance when the Most Holy Sacrament was named, and he did not do so, nor did he praise it as he

ought to; and neither did he take off his hat when he saw the cross and passed by one; to which the said Treviño answered him, his face having changed color and he showing signs of anger, that he was a good Christian and heard mass and counted the Rosary which he showed he had in his hand, and said that for his God and for his religion and for his king he would die as a Christian, and greatly frightened and crossing himself he went on saying, Jesus behold where the devil tempts them, and he offered this declarant his house and gave him chocolate and canteloupes and offered to do anything that this declarant would ask him saying that he was a gentleman and that he would act as such. And having told some persons of this they advised him in order to judge better and find out more thoroughly, to ask him to lend him something, and he asked him, in his house, for the loan of twenty dollars for which he would give him his note, to which he replied that his note was not necessary, that his word was enough, and that just then he did not have the money because he was going to exchange a bar of silver, and that he would give them to him afterwards, to come another day for them and having gone another day he refused to see him or he was not at home. And he has not returned to his house though he has met him in the street he has not spoken to him, and only took off his hat to him. And that he has come to declare this on account of the scruple he feels and for unburdening his conscience. He was charged to observe secrecy in due form. He promised it and signed his name Don Diego Pantoja y Alphistu Before me/ So/ Eugenio de Saravia and forthwith immediately . . . . . Matias Perez was ordered to enter into the audience and he declared substantially the same as the foregoing Don Diego Pantoja, he stating that they had agreed to test the Christianity of the said Tremiño by someone of the three comrades saying every morning and every night "praised or blessed be the most holy Sacrament," they never heard him respond like the rest, but only *good night* or *good morning*. And that going past a cross on the road they three took off their hats and said "praised be the most holy Sacrament," the said Treviño never said a word and he barely touched his hat, and that because they were present and to satisfy them, and that whenever they were about entering into any place they would purposely let him go in advance to see if he would take off his hat to the cross, and they never saw him take it off or do any reverence. He also tells about the little

book and not having succeeded in his efforts to get hold of it; and for this and because the pug-nosed tailor's son said that he and his wife were penanced he had a scruple, and he came to unburden his conscience in this Holy Office, etc.

Folio 353.

THE BACHELOR, JOSEPH DE ALBRIS,

AGAINST

THOMAS TREMINO DE SOBREMONTE, FOR HAVING HIDDEN MONEY BEFORE HE WAS ARRESTED BY THIS HOLY OFFICE.

In the city of Mexico, Tuesday the tenth day of July sixteen hundred and forty-one the Inquisitors Domingo Velez de Assas y Argos and Dr. Bartolome Salterno, Bishop elect of Guatemala being in their afternoon audience they commanded to enter therein a cleric who came voluntarily, from whom was received an oath in due form, on which he promised to speak the truth, and he said his name is The Licentiate Joseph de Alzaris, presbyter, a native and resident of the city of Antequera (now Oacaca) of the valley of Guacaca, thirty-four years of age a little more or less.

That he comes to declare for unburdening his conscience that about a year ago Inan de Santiago Porras, who is about seventy years old, a native of Medina de Rio Seco in Castile, who usually resides in Guacaca or Cuylapa or at the mines of Chichicapa told this declarant when he was at an Hacienda of his in the said mines of Chichicapa that Thomas Tremiño de Sobremonte, who was reconciled by this Holy Office with whom he had a strong friendship because they came from the same country, went with him sometime before his arrest to a place called Las Peñnelas where he hid in the ground three or five thousand dollars, that he is not certain about the amount and that the same Juan de Santiago helped him to hide them and inter them; and that after he came out of this Holy Office reconciled and his penance fulfilled, the said Thomas Tremiño went to Guacaca and accompanied by the said Juan de Santiago, they went secretly to the part and place where they had hidden the said money, and they dug it out and the said Thomas Tremiño de Sobremonte took it with him where he pleased. And that he having communicated this to Father Andrés de Valencia of the Society of Jesus, he told

him that he was under obligation to come and declare it in this Holy Office; and that in compliance with his duty and to unburden his conscience he has come to declare in this Tribunal, and having read it to him he said it was well recorded and he reaffirmed and ratified it, and he does not say it from hatred. He was enjoined to observe secrecy in due form, which he promised and signed it.

Signed. Bachelor Joseph Àlzaris Before me (signed) Eugenio de Saravia.

THE JEWS OF NEW JERSEY FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO 1850.

By Albert M. Friedenberg, B. S., LL. B.

New Jersey[1] was first settled by Dutchmen from New Amsterdam who threw up a small redoubt at the present Jersey City Point in 1614. It has been stated that as early as 1655 a small party of Jews from the same center settled along the eastern bank of the Delaware River: I have been unable to obtain authentic confirmation of this fact. In 1664 New Netherlands, which included what are now the States of New York and New Jersey, surrendered to the English under the command of James, duke of York. The country between the Connecticut and Delaware rivers was granted to him by King Charles II by letters patent bearing the date March 20, 1664. The duke in turn then granted the present New Jersey to John, lord Berkeley of Stratton and Sir George Carteret by a paper-writing on June 23 and 24, 1664.

Berkeley and Carteret at once began to exercise their proprietary control over New Jersey: on February 10, 1664/5 they issued certain "Concessions" to its inhabitants. One of these fundamental laws reads as follows:

7. Item . . . . every such person . . . . [is to] have and enjoy his and their judgments and consciences in matters of religion, ...[2]

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[1] For assistance in the preparation of this paper I desire to record my thanks to Mrs. Adele Seixas Naar and Hon. Francis B. Lee, of Trenton, N. J., and Mr. Matthias Levy, of London, England.

[2] Samuel Smith, "The History of the Colony of Nova Cæsaria, or New Jersey: containing an account of its first Settlement, progressive Improvements, etc.," Burlington, N. J., 1765, pp. 512, 513. A so-called second edition of this work is dated Trenton, 1877. This grant was confirmed by Governor Andros (of "Charter Oak" fame), November 9, 1674. *Ibid.*, p. 78.

In 1666 a government according to the Mosaic code was set up at Newark: one of the counties of the State has always been called Salem.

When Berkeley and Carteret subsequently divided New Jersey between them, the former took the western and the latter the eastern half of the colony. On March 18, 1674, when it had been restored to the English after its re-capture by the Dutch, Berkeley sold his portion to John Fenwick and Edward Byllinge, Quakers, and two years later (August 18, 1676) the latter's creditors seized his interest under an execution and divided it into one hundred shares. Through the efforts of William Penn, Byllinge's property remained in Quaker control, Fenwick, his co-parcener, taking ten shares and English members of the Society of Friends the remainder.

Carteret retained control of East Jersey and confirmed the grant of 1664/5 to the settlers there, July 13, 1674, while Penn and his associates re-affirmed it for West Jersey by the charter of 1676 (Ch. XVI), and on November 25, 1681, Samuel Jenings, their deputy governor, did the same.[3] James of York had confirmed his re-grant (1674) of West Jersey to

[3] Smith, *ubi supra*, pp. 128, 529.

The "Fundamental Constitution of the Province of West New Jersey" (1681) reads in part as follows:

"X. That liberty of conscience in matters of faith and worship towards God shall be granted to all people within the Province aforesaid who shall live peaceably and quietly therein; and that none of the free people of the said Province, shall be rendered uncapable of office in respect of their faith and worship."

Aaron Leaming and Jacob Spicer, "The Grants, Concessions, and Original Constitutions of the Province of New Jersey," Philadelphia, n. d.; reprinted Somerville, N. J., 1881, p. 425.

In "The Fundamental Constitution of the Province of East New Jersey" (1683) it is stated (Art. XVI):

". . . . Yet it is also hereby provided, that no man shall be admitted a member of the great or common council or any other place of publick trust, who shall not profess faith in Christ Jesus, ..." Leaming and Spicer, *ubi supra*, p. 162.

Lord Berkeley by recognizing, October 10, 1678, the latter's assigns; at this time, too, he re-granted East Jersey to Sir George Carteret and the latter's grandson. As Sir George died in 1679 his widow and executors sold his interest in these lands for £3400 to Penn and eleven other Quakers by a deed of lease and release (February 1 and 2, 1681/2). These twelve Quakers accepted twelve others of their own faith as partners and on March 14, 1683, the duke of York made a fresh grant of East Jersey to them as its proprietors.[4] In the brief account of the colony published in 1682 by the new owners, it is stated that full religious liberty is guaranteed to all settlers. The next year the Quaker proprietors granted a rudimentary bill of rights to the inhabitants of East Jersey, declaring that all who acknowledged one eternal God and maintained themselves in peace would not be molested in any way with respect to their religious belief, or compelled to support an established church. But only a Christian could hold public office: in West Jersey at this time no such test existed.[5]

Penn and his company purchased New Jersey from a desire to establish a refuge for oppressed Quakers. Penn himself visited the colony in 1681, and described the Indians whom he found there as closely resembling Jews.[6] In a letter to England he said he inclined to believe that they were descended from the lost Ten Tribes.[7]

[4] Smith, *ubi supra*, pp. 156, 157.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 271, 273.

[6] *Ibid.*, Ch. I, especially p. 9. Penn stated that mourners among the Hebrews and the Indians rended their clothes as a sign of grief. Henry Ludlam, a philo-Semite, on whose lands the present Hirsch colonies stand, wished to settle Jews on his Cape May county property.

[7] Elias Boudinot, LL. D., "A Star in the West; or, a humble attempt to discover the long lost Ten Tribes of Israel, preparatory to their return to their beloved city, Jerusalem," Trenton, 1816, p. 85 *et seq.*

West Jersey established a test for office-holders in 1693. Since a great many of its inhabitants were Quakers the oath *or affirmation* took the following form:

> I, A. B., profess faith in God the father, and Jesus Christ his eternal son, the true God, and in the Holy Spirit, one God blessed for ever more, etc.

And the East Jersey bill of rights put it,

> That no person or persons that profess faith in God, by Jesus Christ, his only son, shall at any time be any way molested, punished, disturbed or be called in question for any difference in opinion, in matters of religious concernment, ... Provided this shall not [be] extended to any of the Romish religion. . . .[5]

These provisions, however, were not at all aimed against Jews, of whom at least until the period of the Russo-Polish immigration there were only a scant few in New Jersey, but against Catholics, and heathens, atheists, and infidels.

On April 17, 1702, the proprietors of East and West Jersey by a deed of surrender and release (dated April 15th), gave up all their rights in and to the government of the colony to Queen Anne. From that date and until the Revolution New Jersey belonged directly to the crown. The twenty-eighth on the list of the thirty-two proprietors of the "Western Division of Jersey" was Benjamin Levy, a prominent London Jew, whom Mr. Lucien Wolf has called "the Carvajal of the Ashkenazi community" in England.[6]

The following month saw a petition to Queen Anne from "the greatest part of the Proprietors" including "Ben

[5] Laws of 1698, Ch. IV. See Leaming and Spicer, *ubi supra*, p. 372. In 1721 a bill was introduced in the colonial assembly to provide a penalty for those who denied the divinity of Jesus Christ. It failed to pass. Smith, *ubi supra*, p. 417.

[6] See a letter by Mr. Matthias Levy, "Benjamin Levy—a Question in Anglo-Jewish History," in *The Jewish Chronicle*, July 31, 1903, pp. 6, 7. The deed is now in the State Paper Office, in London (B. T. New Jersey, Vol. I, A 1). It is reprinted in Smith, *ubi supra*, p. 211 *et seq.;* Leaming and Spicer, *ubi supra*, p. 609

[Levy]" for the appointment of Andrew Hamilton, their former deputy, as the governor of the new royal colony.[10]

On November 16, 1702, Queen Anne issued a set of one hundred and three instructions to her captain-general and governor-in-chief of New York and New Jersey, the celebrated Lord Cornbury, for his guidance in governing these

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et seq.; New Jersey Archives, 1st Series, Vol. II, p. 452 *et seq.*, (Newark, 1881).

Mr. Lucien Wolf published "Notes on Benjamin Levy," in *The Jewish Chronicle*, August 7, 1903, p. 18. Benjamin, also known as Wolf, Levy came to England from Hamburg or Altona in 1670, and died in June or July, 1704, aged only forty years. His will in Hebrew now reposes in Somerset House, London.

Our proprietor is not to be confounded, in my opinion, with the person of similar name mentioned by Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach in "Notes on the First Settlement of Jews in Pennsylvania, 1655-1703," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 5, p. 198. The latter resided in southwestern New Jersey in 1703 while Benjamin Levy, the proprietor, never set foot on New Jersey soil. I believe that he acquired his proprietary interest either through direct purchase, or, what is even more probable, through realization of securities pledged with him for a loan. Benjamin Levy, of London, was a very wealthy man, connected with the East India Company, and on April 27, 1697, was in the second batch of twelve "Jew-brokers" admitted to the privileges of the Royal Exchange. His letters of denization date from 1689. See *The Jewish Chronicle*, December 11, 1908, p. 19 (Israel Solomons).

An advertisement inserted in the London *Times* (April 28, 1868, p. 1, col. 2; May 20, 1869, p. 1, col. 2) invited the personal representatives of Benjamin Levy, merchant, and other proprietors in the West New Jersey Society to claim unpaid dividends on their shares. Josiah Davis or Davies, merchant, of London, is also referred to in this advertisement. He was wealthy, an associate of Levy (1698-1704), and is believed to have been a Jew. See *The London Gazette*, April 16-20, 1702, p. 8, col. 1; *The Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. XXIV, p. 271, Vol. XXV, pp. 17, 354 (1754-55); Franks *v.* Martin, 1 Eden, 309 (1759).

[10] *New Jersey Archives, ubi supra*, pp. 469, 470.

territories. The fifty-first, strongly insisted upon by the former proprietors as an effective inducement to English setlers, reads as follows:

> You are to permit a liberty of conscience to all persons (except papists) so they may be contented with a quiet and peaceable enjoyment of the same, not giving offence or scandal to the government.[11]

Between 1702 and 1776 no Jews were naturalized in New Jersey. The various measures passed to facilitate naturalization by the colonial assembly affected only foreign Protestants.[12]

In the colonial records of the eighteenth century mention is several times made of professing Jews. Thus a Rodrigo Pacheco who belonged to the Shearith Israel Synagogue, of New York, is referred to.[13]

In the first half of 1718 "several inhabitants of and traders to" New Jersey, including Moses Levy "a Jew here," petitioned King George I to withhold his approval from an act of the colonial assembly permitting Quakers to affirm.[14]

[11] Smith, *ubi supra*, pp. 230, 246, 264, 266. See also Isaac S. Mulford, "Civil and Political History of New Jersey," Camden, 1848.

[12] See John R. Stevenson, "Persons Naturalized in New Jersey between 1702 and 1776," in *The New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 86 (1897). The names on the lists are all German Protestant; hence I am more than doubtful as to Philip Marks (admitted April 28, 1762). Besides the act 13 Geo. II, Ch. VII, the local naturalization acts are as follows: Laws of April 4, 1709, July 8, 1730, and September 16, 1772. See *ibid.*, Vol. XX, p. 34, for a reference to Levi Hart, of Shrewsbury, 1764, and 1784 to Samuel S., and Benjamin Judah, and Levi Solomon, 1790, of Freehold.

[13] See *New Jersey Archives*, 1st Series, Vol. VI, pp. 77, 142, 143 (Newark, 1882). In 1742 he presented a memorial on behalf of the proprietors.

[14] *New Jersey Archives*, 1st Series, Vol. IV, p. 342 *et seq.*, (Newark, 1882).

Among the debts payable by the estate of Elizabeth Salter, of Freehold, Monmouth County, in 1728, was one to Gomez and Gomez, junior, New York merchants.[15]

David Hays, a connection of Isaac Seixas, of New York, resided on a plantation in Griggs Town, Somerset County, in 1744. He offered it for sale in that year.[16] In a list of letters awaiting owners at the Philadelphia post office in 1758 is one for Myer Levy, of Salem.[17]

On October 15, 1760, Myers Levy, a German Jew who came from Surinam in 1755 and 1756 and was a trader in various parts of New Jersey, absconded with goods and effects valued at £2300. In *The New York Mercury*[18] the following advertisement was published:

Whereas, Myers Levy, late of Spotswood, in East New Jersey, Trader, is absconded, and being considerably indebted, there's all the Reason to believe he is gone off with intent to defraud his Creditors; this is to request all Persons to exert their Diligence to discover him that he may be secured, and Notify it to the Printer, for which he will pay them 20 Dollars. He is a Man of a Middle Stature, of a rudy Complexion, wore his own Hair, is black Bearded, speaks broken English, but perfect in the Dutch; had in Company his Wife, a tall Woman, and five Children; it is conjectured he will go off to some Part of the West-Indies.

Finally, on December 2, 1760, an offer of eight hundred dollars' reward for the apprehension of Levy with his booty, or fifty dollars if he were caught, was made by Joseph Morris, David Franks, Bernard Gratz, Moses Heyman, and six Gentile traders of Philadelphia in the columns of *The Pennsylvania Gazette*.[19]

In *The Pennsylvania Journal* of November 5, 1769, appeared a notice by John Farnsworth, of Philipsburg, Sussex

[15] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 401 (Paterson, 1901).
[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 363, 364.
[17] *Ibid.*, Vol. XX, p. 170 (Paterson, 1898).
[18] November 3, 1760; see *ibid.*, p. 499.
[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 514, 515.

County, West Jersey, that he will not be responsible for the debts of Deborah, his wife. It seems that she absconded with Nathan Levy, "a Jew shop-keeper," on October 10, 1769. Farnsworth's advertisement proceeds thus:

. . . . **She likes the said Levy better than me, and . . . . intends to live with him, as he will maintain her as a gentlewoman: I have waited on Mr. Levy respecting the affair, from whom I have received no other satisfaction than insolent language, ...**[20]

On a British ordnance map of the Revolutionary War[21] will be found *Jewstown,* in Monmouth County. This spot on the chart lies some ten miles southwest of Sandy Hook, between Freehold and Middletown on one side, and Wainwright on the other. Jewstown is probably an error for either Jug Town or Julius Town, localities well known since the early days of the colony. It should not be identified with the very ancient Shrewsburytown. There were, as has been seen, Jews in Monmouth County during the eighteenth century.

Only one Jew may be found in the New Jersey troops during the Revolution: Asher Levy, or Lewis, the grandson of the famous Asser Levy, of New Amsterdam, was commissioned ensign in the first regiment, September 12, 1778; he resigned June 4, 1779.[22]

The New Jersey Journal was established by David Franks at Camden in 1778; it lasted until about 1782.[23]

Further facts relating to the development of religious liberty in New Jersey are of interest.

[20] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 555 (Paterson, 1904).

[21] Entitled "The Route of the Allies from Chatham to Head of Elk, by Lieut. Hills, of the Engineers, British Army," and published in *Magazine of American History.* For this I am indebted to Hon. N. Taylor Phillips and Leon Hühner, Esq.

[22] This I owe to Leon Hühner, Esq.

[23] This I owe to Max J. Kohler, Esq.; see *ibid.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 98, 99 (1887).

The Provincial Congress which met at Burlington on June 10, 1776, to adopt a constitution for the new State, concluded its labors on July 2, 1776, in a half-empty house. While the instrument declared that all persons were given the full right of free worship, and no particular church was established, it was enacted into law that

> . . . . No protestant inhabitant shall be denied the enjoyment of any civil right, merely on account of his religious principles; but, that all persons professing a belief in the faith of any protestant sect, who shall demean themselves peaceably under the government, shall be capable of being elected into any office of profit or trust, or being a member of either branch of the Legislature.[24]

In the 'thirties of the last century many residents of New Jersey, particularly those who were Roman Catholics, urged the amendment or repeal of this law. A convention to draft a new State constitution was called for May 14, 1844. It met at Trenton, completed its labors on June 29th and had its report confirmed by popular vote in August, 1844. David Naar was one of the delegates from Essex County.[25] Section 4 of Article I of the new constitution abolished all religious tests as a qualification for office or public trust; it has remained so unchanged ever since.

[24] Section 19; see Thomas F. Gordon, "The History of New Jersey, from its Discovery by Europeans to the Adoption of the Federal Constitution," Trenton, 1834, p. 189.

Isaac De Young, of company A, third New Jersey artillery, was wounded at Lundy's Lane, in the War of 1812. See Simon Wolf, "The American Jew as Patriot, Soldier, and Citizen," Philadelphia, 1895, pp. 50, 72.

[25] He was a member of the committee on the new bill of rights. See "Journal of the Proceedings of the Convention to form a Constitution," Trenton, 1844, pp. 12, 30, 43 *et seq.*, 234 *et seq.*, 269 *et seq.*, 292. A copy of this volume is in the Columbia University Library.

The present Jewish communities[26] of Newark and Paterson date from 1844. Louis Trier came to Newark in that year, and was joined by Meier Newman two years later. The Congregation B'nai Jeshurun of Newark was organized August 20, 1848. Ashman, a native of Posen, who combined the occupations of *Mohel* and clothier, came to Paterson in 1844. Four years later English Jews of the name of Harris settled there, and the local congregation was established in 1849.

I shall bring this paper to a close by giving a brief sketch of David Naar and his family.

David Naar was born at St. Thomas, Danish West Indies, November 10, 1800. His ancestors came from the Iberian peninsula, where the family name was spelt Nahar; in English-speaking lands, the silent "h" of the Spanish was dropped. Naar came to New York when a boy, and subsequently settled with his father on a farm at Wheatsheaf, near Elizabethtown, N. J.

Naar was mayor and president judge of the special court of Elizabeth. Having acted as clerk of the House of Assembly of New Jersey in 1851 and 1852, he removed to Trenton in 1853 and acquired control of *The True American*, an influential newspaper, of which he was the editor until 1869 and with which his family has since been identified. He was the State treasurer in 1865 and 1866. A forceful "stump" speaker, Judge Naar died at Trenton, February 24, 1880, the father of fifteen children.[27]

[26] The pioneer Jew of Jersey City was Joseph Mayer, a tobacconist, who arrived there on June 27, 1858. For the recent history see *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, New York and London, 1905, Vol. IX, pp. 241b *et seq.*, 293a; "A History of the Jews of the State of New Jersey," in *The Hebrew Standard National Magazine*, New York, 1906.

[27] *The True American* was established at Trenton, March 10, 1801.

At the dedication of the Montgomery street synagogue in Trenton, March 23, 1866, addresses were delivered by Judge Naar, and

From 1866 to 1885 Judge Naar's son Moses D. Naar edited *The True American,* while from 1885 until his death, September 19, 1905, another son Joseph L. Naar [28] was the editor.

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the Rev. Isaac Leeser, of Philadelphia. The officiating minister was the Rev. Jacob Frankel, of Philadelphia, one of the Jewish army chaplains appointed by President Lincoln during the Civil War. The names of the early ministers of this congregation (Har Sinai, founded 1860) were Reuben Strauss and Isaiah Götz. See John O. Raum, "History of the City of Trenton, N. J.," Trenton, 1871, pp. 148, 215 *et seq.; The Occident*, Vol. XXIV, p. 40; Francis B. Lee, editor, "New Jersey as a Colony and as a State," New York, 1902, biographical volume, p. 173b; *The Hebrew Standard*, July 24, 1908.

[28] Born at Wheatsheaf, October 23, 1842. He was secretary of the Constitutional Conventions of 1873 and 1894. See *The Trenton Gazette*, September 20, 1905; *The Newark News*, *idem.; The True American*, September 21, 1905. His son, Henry K. Naar, is (1908) an officer of *The True American.*

The reference to Abraham Dubois in Hamilton's *Itinerarium* (edited by Prof. Albert B. Hart, 1907, p. 39), does not seem to me to be sufficiently authenticated to warrant more than mere mention. Besides, I am not at all certain that Dubois was a Jew. Mr. Samuel Oppenheim, who gave me this reference, kindly informed me that an Abraham Dubois, of Somerset, who may have been the person mentioned by Hamilton, married Jane Vandike, October 22, 1747. See *New Jersey Archives*, 1st Series, Vol. XXII, p. 110 (Paterson, 1900). There may be MS. references to Jews living in New Jersey: these I have not been able to utilize. I know of such in the "Collections" of Rev. J. J. Lyons, for example.

While seeing this paper through the press I note the appearance by Edwin P. Tanner, Ph. D., of "The Province of New Jersey,1664-1738," New York, 1908. This exhaustive monograph is of great value, and I am glad to note that the political facts set out by me in this paper agree with those in Dr. Tanner's narrative. This volume, of course, contains nothing of Jewish interest.

A CONTEMPORARY MEMORIAL RELATING TO DAMAGES TO SPANISH INTERESTS IN AMERICA DONE BY JEWS OF HOLLAND (1634).

By Dr. Cyrus Adler.

It has been generally known for a long time, and has been stated in the *Publications* of our Society, in the *Jewish Encyclopedia,* and in other works relating to American Jewish history, that the Jews of Holland were active both against Portuguese and Spaniards in favor of Holland in their conquests and attempted conquests in Brazil and elsewhere upon the American Continent. But I am able to lay before the Society a document which gives them credit for more activity in this regard than has hitherto been known, and incidentally describes projects ascribed to the Jews which had escaped attention.

The document which is taken from the general archives of Simancas, council of the Inquisition, purports to be a narrative showing "the damage done to his majesty by the Jews of Holland." It was written by a certain Esteban de Ares Fonseca in Madrid, April 23, 1634, copied and translated into Castillian from Portuguese on May 6, 1634, by Juan Bautista de Villadiego.

The document came to light through a reference in Volume 3, page 279, of "A History of the Inquisition of Spain," by the distinguished historian Henry C. Lea. It was called to my attention by Mr. Kohler, and upon application to Dr. Lea, he was good enough to send me a transcript of the Spanish record which seemed to be so interesting and important that I present herewith a translation, except in the case of a few words which were not clear.

Dr. Lea thus ably summarizes the contents of the document:

In 1634, the Capitan Esteban de Ares Fonseca, in a memorial to the Suprema, represents the refugees in Holland as aiding actively the enemies of Spain, and as holding constant correspondence with spies residing there in the guise of merchants. The Dutch West India Company, he says, was controlled by Jews, who were large stockholders, and its chief profits were derived from piracy in the colonies, especially those of Portugal on the Brazilian coast, where the New Christians were numerous and were in correspondence with the enemy. It was two Jews, Nuno Alvarez Franco and Manuel Fernandez Drago, residents of Bahia, who planned and executed the capture of that place by the Dutch in 1625. Franco, he adds, now lives in Lisbon as a spy, under orders from Holland, and his brother Jacob Franco carries intelligence back and forth disguised as a Fleming from Antwerp. Drago is still in Bahia; he is a great rabbi and teacher of the Jews, and moreover is a spy who last year sent word to the Dutch to return there. The capture of Pernambuco was the work of the Jews of Amsterdam, chief among whom was Antonio Vaez Henriquez, known as Cohen, who lived there, who arranged the plans and accompanied the expedition; he is now residing in Seville as a merchant, but is nothing but a spy. Last year he went to Amsterdam with a plan for the capture of Havana, where he has a correspondent named Manuel de Torres. At present a large fleet of eighteen sail is fitting out for the relief of Pernambuco, under command of David Peixoto, a Jew, who proposes to call at Buarcos, and penetrate to Coimbra, where the Inquisition is to be burnt and the prisoners are to be liberated. It was a Jew of Amsterdam, named Francisco de Campos, who took the island of Fernando de Noronha; it could readily be recaptured, as it has a garrison of only thirty-four men with four cannon. In San Sebastian, there is a Jew named Abraham Ger, who calls himself Juan Gilles, under Dutch pay; he works much mischief to Spain and keeps a man named Rafael Mendez, who is constantly travelling back and forth.

We need not accept all this as literally true, but it had an undoubted substratum of fact. In 1640, the tribunals of Lima and Cartagena de las Indias reported that in recent autos de fe it had been discovered that many Judaizing Portuguese in the colonies had correspondence with the synagogues in Holland and

the Levant, assisting the Dutch and the Turks with information and money. To verify this, orders were given to open, on a certain day, all letters addressed to Portuguese throughout Spain. The information was found to be true; a cypher was discovered, used in correspondence with the synagogues of Holland, and further, that a million and a half of money had been pledged from Spain. The matter was appropriately referred for investigation to the inquisitor-general and two inquisitors. What was the result, we have no means of knowing, but we may be reasonably sure that the rumors, which attributed to the New Christians of Portugal a share in the rebellion of 1640, were not wholly without foundation.

The document gives many details and in addition furnishes names which had heretofore been unknown to us, and altogether is in my opinion a most valuable addition to our stock of knowledge. So great is its interest that I venture to append it herewith.

GENERAL ARCHIVES OF SIMANCAS.

COUNCIL OF INQUISITION, BOOK 49, FOLIO 45.

NARRATIVE SHOWING THE DAMAGE DONE TO HIS MAJESTY BY THE JEWS OF HOLLAND.

The first *amente* when Bahia de Todos los Santos was taken was by order & plan of one Nuño Alvarez Franco, a Jew of Holland & resident of the said Bahia for more than 12 years, & by order of one Manuel Fernandez Drago. Both lived in the said Bahia. Their fathers lived in the city of Amsterdam & received from the States 200 pounds each year for their support.

This Nuño Alvarez Franco lives in Lisbon by order of the said Hollanders, so that as a practical man he may know what is going on & act as advisor. He dwells at Sant Pablo & has in his company one of his brothers who was born in Amsterdam, also a Jew, who is called Corueles Janse or Jacob Franco, who goes and comes with the information concealed by *flamenco de amberes.*

Manuel Fernandez Drago dwells at present in Bahia, where he teaches many Jews, as he is a great rabbi. He gives notice of all that goes on & receives the money that comes from the said Amsterdam, carrying passports & false despatches made by one

Luis Nuñez Machado, a Jew who lives in the said Amsterdam. They disguise themselves in this manner, saying they are from Hamburg; & in March of last year (1633) it was reported that these spies of the enemy wrote to the States of Holland advising them to turn to the said Bahia, & their fathers published it in the said Amsterdam where they live. In the said Bahia live six or seven Jews who were from the said Amsterdam. The following are their names: Rabbi Manuel Fernandez Drago, Isaac Drago, Lope de Acosta Suarez, David de Acosta, Ruy de Lemos, Mose Israel de Lemos, Luis Franco de Mezquita, Isaac de Mezquita, Juan Alvarez de Andrade, Jacob de Andrade, Manuel de Fonseca Diez, Tubian de Fonseca. There are these & many others whose names I do not know, and they are responsible for the capture of many ships & other things, the remedy for which is easy with this certain information.

The Jews of Amsterdam were responsible for the capture of Pernambuco & the principal one was one Antonio Vaez Henriquez alias Mosen Coen, who went with the said Hollanders & instructed them & gave them plans showing how to take the said place, for he had spent many days in the said Pernambuco & was well acquainted with the entrances & the exits. The said Hollanders did this by his secret counsel & he lived with them in the said Pernambuco for more than a year. He is now a merchant in Seville & is nothing but a spy to learn when the fleet comes & goes and when an assault can be made, so as to give information as he did at the capture of the fleet by Piter Hens, in whose company was this said Antonio Vaez. Last year this spy came to Amsterdam & said he wanted to submit a plan for the capture of Habana & the Hollanders tried to go with a great armada, all by order of this Jew who lives to-day in Seville & has in the said Habana another correspondent named Manuel de Torres alias Isaac de Torres, by whose orders the said Hollanders are governed, & all the damage is done by means of these Jews. The remedy is easy, for they are known, & through them everything which is going on can be learned, as they will tell it on being exposed.

The capture of the island of Fernando de Noroña was by order of a Jew of Amsterdam named Francisco de Campos, who had been hidden there & who is now captain of the said island. This captain has moreover as his lieutenant in the said island a brother named Manuel de Campos alias Isaac de Campos and many others

whom they called to populate the said island, which I am informed can easily be retaken, as they have only 32 soldiers & the population is very small & he has only four pieces of cannon. Their only hope is based on the fact that the entrance is very narrow. The fathers of these Jews are in the said Amsterdam & the States make much account of them. The latter send ships to Lisbon or Malaga saying that they are going elsewhere with passports & false papers, but the funds go marked with the names of this Captain Francisco de Campos, which will be easy to recognize. They have no secret *flamencos* & at Lisbon or Malaga one of these ships may be taken when they shall be discovered & in his company it will be possible to take the said island at little cost.

I have told Señor Don Felipe de Silva all I knew to a certainty about Pernambuco, & as the greater part of the population died last year of pestilence & hunger, & only 320 persons remained, their names were given to the company in order that they might be provided with men & supplies. Twelve ships were sent to them last June (1633). Two of these were known to have been lost & seven reached their destination. Nothing has been heard of the other three up to the present time. For this reason a great armada is to be got ready now in this month of March, or in April, 1634, to aid with men which are much needed.

It is asserted that 18 ships are going & with them another ship called the Three Towers (las tres Torres), well known on account of its greatness. Its captain is a Jew named Diego Peixotto alias Mosen Coen, who induced the company to make the crew (who are negroes) come to them to learn the language. It is also said that a landing is to be made under a flag of truce, pretending that they had escaped from the Hollanders, & in this way they can learn all that is going on. The entire armada is virtually governed by this Jew, who takes in his company, according to reliable information, 100 Jews. I shall name only the principal ones, for I should never get through if I named them all. Antonio Mendez Peixotto; Jehosua Coen, brother of this captain & his lieutenant; Simon de Leon; Francisco Serra; Jacob Serra, sergeant; Gaspar Ribeiro de Fonseca; Isaac de Fonseca, overseer; Francisco Nuñez; Abraham Israel, adjutant. I do not name more, for it is not necessary. All these things are true, because while I was in Amsterdam the said Diego Peixoto allowed me to join his company & showed me great favors which I always refused, as I

had a different object in view. With these hints & notices a remedy can easily be applied to prevent these treasons from bearing fruit.

The Jews of Amsterdam also laid a plan whereby the Hollanders, while on the way to Pernambuco, were to turn aside to Buarcos where their men were to land & go to Coimbra, which is only seven leagues away, to sack the inquisition & set its prisoners at liberty and to plunder the convent of Santa Cruz. With this object they take persons with them who know which way they can go. To meet the expenses of this expedition the Jews of Amsterdam & Hamburg have given a large sum of money amounting, if what I have been told is true, to twelve or thirteen thousand ducats. This amount was raised by subscription among all the Jews & has been on deposit for two years, for up to the present time there has been no opportunity to use it. Its use has been restricted solely to this expedition, which with this notice it will be easy to prevent.

The West India Company, which is a Brazilian company and composed of pirates, is governed entirely by Jews of Amsterdam, for all the rich ones give their money for the said company.

Of all these Jews, only two are in the secret with the Hollanders. One is named Bento de Osorio, alias David Ossorio, the other Lope Ramirez or David Curiel. These give the orders & make the plans for plundering & destroying, thinking by this means to destroy Christianity. It is with this object in view that they try to maintain so many spies in so many cities of Castile, Portugal, Biscay, Brazil, & elsewhere.

In San Sebastian there is a Jew who is named Abraham Ger & is now called Juan Gilles. This man does many bad things & is the cause of much ruin to Spain. He has with him one Rafael Mendez who goes & comes solely to report to Holland on what is going on & what ought to be done. This man has a large income from the Hollanders & a large private business.

By order of the said Hollanders, I say by order of the Jews of Holland, the said Hollanders captured a castle of much importance which belonged to the Count de Atrugia & is called the castle of Arguin. It was taken two years ago. The captain who was in the said castle now lives in Amsterdam & is named Diego de Tobar. I am told that he is a Catholic. I do not know, because when I left Holland he was still in Zealand to receive the third part of the money & land which was given him for surrendering,

all by order & contrivance of the said Jews of Amsterdam who are the cause of the injuries done to the Spanish monarchy. All this is the truth without exaggerating anything. I do not mention the names of any Jews, because I do not want this account to be too protracted.

The remedy for all this is easy & may be applied at small expense, & then in spite of their vigilance we shall be delivered from enemies from whom our Lord Jesus Christ may not deliver us.

ESTEBAN DE ARES FONSECA.

This copy agrees with the original made in Madrid April 23d, 1634.

THE LICENTIATE DIEGO DE CISNEROS.

This translation agrees with the original copy which the licentiate Diego de Cisneros translated into the Castillian language from the Portuguese of the original narrative of the said Esteban de Ares Fonseca, & I copied it by order of the members of the council of the holy general inquisition & I refer to the council.

JUAN BAUTISTA DE VILLADIEGO.

MADRID, May 6th, 1634.

AN EARLY JEWISH COLONY IN WESTERN GUIANA:

SUPPLEMENTAL DATA.

By Samuel Oppenheim.

After the final proof of the article by the writer in No. 16 of the *Publications,* entitled "An Early Jewish Colony in Western Guiana, 1658-1666: And its Relation to the Jews in Surinam, Cayenne and Tobago," was returned, a full copy of the extant minutes of the committee governing for the three Walcheren cities, Middelburg, Flushing and Vere, the colony in Essequibo, covering the period from November 1, 1657, to November 19, 1663, and also of the minutes of the Zeeland Chamber of the Dutch West India Company, and of the Estates of Zeeland, so far as these relate to the colony during the same period and until its dispersal in 1666, was obtained from The Hague *Reijksarchief.*

The extracts from these minutes, printed as Appendix I to the article referred to, had been excerpted under the direction of the *Reijksarchivaris,* and were received and printed in the belief that they were all that were to be found in the records relating to the Jews. While going through the press, however, the writer concluded that something more would be found on the subject in the minutes, and sent for the full record which came, as remarked, after the final proof had been returned.

The complete record discloses data relating to the Jews not contained in the extracts already printed, and the new matter is published as an appendix hereto. With what has previously been published, all that is to be found at The Hague relating to the Jews in this colony now appears in print.

The additional extracts show the original of the English copy of the grant of privileges to the Jews, discovered by Mr. Lucien Wolf, of London, among the Egerton MSS. in the British Museum, a copy of which was reprinted as Appendix II in the article in No. 16 of the *Publications*. The Dutch of the first nine sections of that grant, relating to the religious affairs of the Jews, is here given in connection with a translation of the whole of the additional extracts. The original Dutch text of the new matter is not now given, as was done with the earlier extracts, as the whole record has been filed with the American Jewish Historical Society, and it has been deemed sufficient to give simply an accurate translation. This translation, made by the writer, has been revised by Mr. Dingman Versteeg, the official translator for the Holland Society of New York. The earlier extracts were revised by another Dutch linguist and their translation is substantially correct.

The new matter proves that the grant in the Egerton MSS. was a translation from the printed Dutch copy mentioned by Charles Longland in his letter from Leghorn to Cromwell's Secretary, John Thurloe, reporting the emigration of twenty-five families of Jews from Leghorn early in 1658 to a locality between Surinam and Carthagena, shown to have been at Essequibo (see *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society,* No. 16, pp. 107, 111), and absolutely disposes of any claim made by Mr. Wolf or others that that grant was drafted by Dormido, a brother-in-law of Menasseh ben Israel, for Cromwell for a settlement of Jews in Surinam. It apparently was drafted by Jews in Holland in the middle or latter part of 1657, and was approved of by the colonization committee in its final form on November 12, 1657, though some amendments were probably, according to the minutes, made a little later. It had been provisionally agreed upon on October 19 of the same year by the representatives of the three cities at a meeting, the minutes of which are not extant.

The grant seems to have been a general grant to all the Jews, and is not noted as having been made to a patroon as was the case with the grant to David Nassy for the colony in Cayenne in 1659, a copy of which was given as Appendix V in the previous article. The reference in the earlier extracts to a contract with David Nassy on January 25, 1658, would seem to relate only to the delivery of slaves on the Wild Coast by the colonization committee. It is not positively established, however, that he did not act as patroon for the Essequibo colony. We have only the form of the grant, and not as it was finally signed by the committee and given to the Jews as their credential. The form seems to have been used in different localities for the purpose of soliciting colonists and inducing emigration. That Nassy continued to be interested in the colony appears from a reference to him in 1663 in connection with an attempt on his part to make an arrangement for a contractor to sell to other places some of the slaves sent to the colony, which arrangement the committee refused to consent to.

The positive determination of the origin of the grant and the facts showing its negotiation in Holland with a friendly body, strengthen the conclusion already arrived at in regard to the later grant of 1665 made by the English authorities in Surinam to the Jews (*Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society,* No. 16, p. 179, Appendix III), which, it was maintained, was practically forced from those authorities, and was founded on the existing Dutch grant of 1657. It can hardly be very well denied that the Dutch Jews, whether coming to Surinam from Cayenne or Pomeroon, would be most unlikely in 1665 to have gone to a colony under a different form of government, with the view of settling there, without having first made arrangements with the authorities in the new location for their protection and the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty such as they had been enjoying at Pomeroon and Cayenne. The same reason would be true as

to intending colonists from other regions. The reference in the previous article, in Appendix IV, to the request of certain Jews in other quarters for information as to the status of their coreligionists in Surinam in 1669 confirms the opinion as to arrangements prior to settlement. The reasons already advanced showing the influences at work to induce the Surinam authorities to make the grant of 1665 to the Jews are also strengthened by the fact appearing in the new extracts that before emigrating from abroad demands were made by the Jews of the Dutch authorities who were friendly to them, and that it is much more probable that with people with whom they were not on such friendly terms written assurances of protection in the new location would have been required. The act of the Surinam authorities cannot, therefore, be considered as voluntary, or as the first example of liberal treatment of the Jews by a ruling nation, but as one influenced by the prior liberal action of the Dutch in a neighboring colony with which the English colony was in competition and whose growing importance was a menace to their own existence, the Jews being skilled in the growing of the sugar cane and the industry connected therewith.

The new matter also confirms the opinion already expressed that the twelfth colony in Guiana, mentioned by Major John Scott as settling in Pomeroon in 1650 and in the following year (*id.*, pp. 124-129), is unlikely to have been established in those years, because the emigration of a great colony of Dutch and Jews from Brazil to Pomeroon that he speaks of would not have taken place without grants of privileges both to the Dutch and Jews, as were made later; and if such grants had been made in 1650 and 1651 there would have been no occasion to make new grants to induce a later emigration between 1656 and 1658 to the same place of a like large colony of Dutch and Jews who had been in Brazil. The Jews certainly would not have gone to Pomeroon, as he says they did, in 1651 without a grant, and if they had then gone thither,

there would have been no occasion later, in 1657, to make a new grant to them to go to the same region. It is suggested that the year 1650 in the Scott MS. may have been miswritten or misread for 1656, which would approximate the date of the beginning of the Dutch emigration as shown in the extant records (*id.*, p. 101).

In the additional data, the discussion leading to the granting of the liberties and exemptions to the Jewish colonists and the liberal terms offered to induce them to emigrate show the influence wielded by the Jews in 1657 and later with the Dutch West India Company and the esteem in which they were held by the company. They also emphasize the standing of the Jews in the commercial world at that period.

Paulo Jacomo Pinto appears as representing the Leghorn Jews in the negotiation for their transportation to the new colony in 1658 and also in 1659. The earlier extracts indicate a departure of Jews from Leghorn in 1658, and, with the new matter, furnish corroboration of the statements in the Longland letter referred to. The later extracts speak of a further emigration of 120 Jews in 1659 from Leghorn. These were required to go first to Zeeland before leaving for the new colony. They seem to have met with misfortune at Tobago and were reduced to great extremities. The earlier emigrants from Leghorn in 1658 probably also went by way of Zeeland, but no mention appears of them later. Both of these sets of colonists are distinct from the 152 Leghorn Jews going to Cayenne under the grant to David Nassy of September 12, 1659 (*id.*, p. 183, Appendix V, and p. 101).

The demand for slaves for the colony seems to have been quite brisk. They were regarded as necessary for its support, its sole salvation, as the committee said, as valuable as burnished silver, and were not allowed to be made the subject of sale to other localities. They are noted as being employed in the operation of mills,—no doubt sugar mills,—which are spoken of as to be built by the Jews and for the construction

of which the latter took along the necessary wood work in the shape of planks, hogsheads and cellars.

The extracts also show that the Jews were allowed to go free on the first ship, and to take with them their own food, thus enabling them to observe their dietary laws. Beer seems also to have been a beverage required for their consumption in the colony, as evidenced by a request of Moses Netto in September, 1658, to be permitted to send several tuns of that article to his coreligionists in Nova Zeelandia.

The additional Jewish names of David Casteel, Abraham Israel Orta, Rodrigo Lopes Toores, Albertus Chinne and Jacomo Nunes Pereira appear in connection with the colonization.

The Jewish colony on the Pomeroon between 1658, when they are first noted in the extracts as being there, and 1666 when they were dispersed, was probably the most important one in the early history of the Jews in America after Brazil, and undoubtedly influenced the permission of their settlement in other localities by other authorities. Its existence as an agricultural community at that early date indicates that the Jews were not then disinclined to occupy themselves with manual labor when given the opportunity, as has often been charged against them, but that they were willing to join with the rest of the community in developing the country where they settled. It is curious that no mention has heretofore appeared of this colony, and the absence of any reference to it can only be explained by the oblivion into which the records had fallen until unearthed through the investigations caused by the dispute regarding the boundary lines between Venezuela and British Guiana and the publication of the extracts in this and the previous volume of these *Publications.**

* A copy of the Egerton MSS., No. 2395, made by a copyist familiar with old English writing is now in the Library of Congress. A comparison, by the writer, of the Grant to the Jews with the copy printed by Mr. Wolf in *Transactions of the Jewish His-*

APPENDIX.

ADDITIONAL EXTRACTS FROM THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMMITTEE GOVERNING FOR THE THREE WALCHEREN CITIES, MIDDELBURG, FLUSHING AND VERE, THE COLONY OF NOVA-ZEELANDIA, 1657-1663.

(Hague, *Reijksarchief*, West India Papers, cover-title, *Resolutien rakende de nieuwe Collonie in Isekepe* [Essequibo], 1 November, 1657 [-19 Nov. 1663].)

(For the remaining Extracts relating to the Jews see *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 16, pp. 162-175, and also pp. 107, 130-138, and 157-160.)

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 1657.

Read the drafted conditions, publicly posted, which are hereby formally approved, and it is ordered that they be sent, as usual, to the respective chambers, and to other places where it is customary to post them.

Having considered what ought first to be done, it was resolved to freight as soon as possible two suitable ships, one to transport the colonists first presenting themselves and upon the condition that the owners shall provide the ship for Essequibo with people and provisions, as well as ammunition, and transport the colonists, with food, at the least possible cost, excepting some Jews who shall be allowed to take along their own food. The other

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torical Society of England, III, pp. 82-84, and reprinted in the article in No. 16 of the *Publications*, pp. 176-178, shows that the following words principally require to be corrected in the printed copy, and make clearer the reading of the grant. The references here are to the numbered sections.

In No. 1, "separattes places" should be "separratte place." In No. 3, "Corte" should be "Coste." In No. 5, "imburgue" should be "imbarque." In No. 6, "Rublick" should be "Publick." No. 9, "not one" should be "noe one." No. 13, "for, even" should be "for ever." No. 14, "tenth of thei fruttes" should be "tenth parte of the fruttes." No. 15, "or the Pallen of it" should be "or the Vallew of it." No. 17, "which shall be lett" should be "which shall be sett"; "Rasconable Ratte" should be "Reizonable Ratte," and "of the Coutrii" should be "of the cuntri." In Rule 3, "Tenn £ Cent" should be "Tenn Pr Cent."

to have an open hold, properly caulked and provided with everything necessary to be placed thereon on behalf of the company. Regarding this the members from Middelburg and Flushing are appointed a committee to examine into the same and to make a report of their findings.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 12, 1657.

Further entered into negotiations with a committee of the Jewish nation who presented the following articles. Whereupon, after the foregoing deliberation, the answer was given to them as noted in the margin of each article, and they were further notified that on all they must await our further resolution on Thursday next coming.

REQUEST FOR THE ENLARGEMENT OF THE PRINTED AND PUBLISHED CONDITIONS RELATING TO THE COLONIZATION OF THE CONTINENTAL WILD COAST.

The time of four years fixed in the contract for payment for the negroes to be extended to six years.

Commissioners insist upon the time fixed of four years, but in special cases of failure of crops commissioners promise moderation and discretion.

The time of five years fixed for exemption is requested to be made ten years, and for a royal Engenho twenty years, together with perpetual [rent or tax] exemption of the ground on which their houses may be built.

Commissioners are of opinion that the exemption of five years is reasonable for all fruits and roses, yet they may grant exemption of twelve years to those building a water mill requiring fifty negroes to operate it, and eight years for an ox mill requiring thirty negroes, and six years for a smaller mill.

For the special exemptions heretofore proposed by the Jews they request a binding resolution, in such form that the said exemptions may be made subject to the laws of this country.

Commissioners grant this.

It is requested that every one may carry along his necessary materials for house building and agriculture.

Commissioners here take occasion to make regulations whereby every one shall be considered according to his social position.

Request that in place of six months to procure provisions from the warehouse eight months be given.

Commissioners are of opinion that six months are sufficient.

Request perpetual liberty of fishery and fowling.

Commissioners are of opinion that this liberty follows the land, namely, each on his land and each on his piece of land bordering on the river and sea shore. Elsewhere to be at the disposition of the [director] general, in conformity with the rules and regulations to be made regarding the same. The open sea, however, remaining free to all.

Likewise as to discovering minerals, pearls and coral fisheries, and other marbles and precious stones, and after that the ten per cent.

Commissioners are of opinion that five years is sufficient, and after that a twentieth penny or five per cent.

It is requested that there be not only free trade from these lands but also liberty to transport to other places beyond the sea the merchandise brought to the Wild Coast and not sold there. Likewise as to the negroes, at least after the lapse of two years, and upon a just toll or tax.

Commissioners are of opinion that this request is of great consequence, as their intention particularly is to keep the wild coast well provided with merchandise and negroes so as to promote their local sale and use. Yet they will consider this later, and when the country is developed and provided with everything they will then make regulations to let merchandise and negroes go out from there upon a certain toll.

For the protection and security of the inhabitants they request fifty soldiers in place of twenty five.

Commissioners express to this their inclination, and undertake in this matter to go as far as their means shall permit them.

It is also requested to know the tax to be paid on goods to be exported after the fixed free years.

Commissioners promise to express themselves more fully as to this later, yet now positively state that they will not tax any one more than those who traffic to the neighboring islands, and that they will treat the Jews as their own burghers, and all this by a provision as to the amount of the tax already fixed or to be fixed by an order of the Board of Nineteen.

Not to be liable for debts except those incurred in Netherland and in the country there.

Commissioners agree to this article.

Request also that where lands that lie between a river and a sugar mill are granted, and it is thereafter found that the mill needs more water and it can obtain no nearer and more convenient water than through said lands, that such lands may be charged with the burden and servitude.

Commissioners decide that every one must take care of his own interest, and if it happens that any one needs another man's land for a certain purpose, he must arrange regarding the same by purchase or otherwise, as in this country.

Request that whenever 100 persons offer themselves and get ready, a ship may then be hired for them and prepared.

Commissioners agree to comply with this request.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 1657.

The aforesaid minutes were submitted and confirmed. At the same time the articles of exemptions for the Hebrew nation are read, as below, and their deputies are promised also that the same shall be carried out.

LIBERTIES WHICH ARE REQUESTED OF THEIR LORDSHIPS BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE HEBREW NATION FOR THE COLONIZATION OF THE WILD COAST.*

1. That they shall be granted liberty of conscience, as also the exercise of their religious customs and ceremonies according to the doctrines of their Ancients, without interference, and that there shall be designated and given to them land and appurtenances for the building of their synagogue or synagogues, and of

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* 1. Dat haer vergunt werdt liberteijt van conscientie als oock exercitie van hare religie gebruycken ende ceremonien volgens de leere van hare voorouders sonder verhinderinge ende haer aengewesen ende gegeven werden gront ende erve tot het bouwen van hare sinagoge ofte sinagogen, van hare scholen, als oock een afgesonderde plaetse die sij uijtkiesen sullen tot het begraven van hare dooden op haer maniere alles op de voet ende maniere als sij tot Amsterdam genieten.

2. Dat sij op hare sabbathen ende andere hare paesch ende feestdagen niet sullen gehouden sijn te compareren in rechten over wat gerechtsake het soude mogen wesen ende dat alle

their schools, and also a separate place, to be selected by them, for the burial of their dead, in their own manner, all according to the manner and fashion they enjoy in Amsterdam.

2. That on their Sabbath days and their holidays and Passover they shall not be required to appear in court in any suits at law, and that all writs or actions against them which may be returnable on or adjourned to the aforesaid days shall be held as void and without force. Also that they shall not be required to go to the guard or to take up arms on the aforesaid days, except in case of very urgent necessity, which God forbid.

3. That all Jews shall be accepted as burghers, even as the natives of the Province of Zeeland who take up their residence in the aforesaid places, and that with them they shall enjoy all liberties.

4. That from among their own people they may select those to govern their synagogues and administer the general affairs of their nation, it being understood that execution shall be enforced through the ministers of justice.

5. That there shall be granted to the said nation, whose intentions are only to promote the common welfare and peace, the right to deliver to the Governor, or whoever is in authority, the name of the person or persons who leads or lead a scandalous life among them, in order to be sent away by the said Governor, on knowledge of the matter, to this Province or to any other place which may be designated by the above named deputies of the aforesaid nation.

6. That the aforenamed Lordships shall also be pleased to order that in all general meetings for the common welfare and commerce there shall also be called two persons of the Hebrew nation

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exploiten off acten die tegens haer op de voorschreven dagen souden mogen werden verleent ofte gepasseert sullen gehouden werden voor nul ende van onwaerden. Oock dat sij niet gehouden sullen sijn ter wacht te trecken ofte die waer te nemen op de voors. dagen ten ware in cas van hooch dringenden noodt dat Godt verhoede.

3. Dat alle joden tot burgeren sullen werden aengenomen evenselfs als de naturallen van de provintie van Zeelant die haer ten voorschrevene plaetse metter woon begeven ende met deselve alle vrijickeijt genieten.

4. Dat sij onder ende uijt haer persoonen sullen vermogen te

to represent their whole body, and together with the other burghers to give their advice for the common weal of the country.

7. That the people of the Jewish nation shall also enjoy all the privileges which shall be granted to the people of other nations.

8. That the customs and constitutions which the Jewish Portuguese nation shall ordain among themselves shall be required to be observed and followed by all Jews who shall come to live upon the aforesaid coast.

9. That of no one shall demand be made for any debts incurred in Brazil or other cities or kingdoms, except in these Provinces or there in the colony.

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kiesen om hare sinagogen te gouverneren ende administreren de generaele saecken van hare natie, welverstaende dat de executie sal werden gedaen door de ministers van de justitie.

5. Dat aen de gemelte natie welckers insicht niet anders is dan om de gemeene ruste ende vrede te betrachten sal werden toegestaen dat sij aen den gouverneur off wien sulcx hoort sullen vermogen op te geven den naem van den persoon ofte persoonen die onder haer van een ergerlijck quaet leven is, off sijn, om bij den voorseijde gouverneur met kennisse van saken versonden to werden naer dese provintie off eenige andere plaetsen die bij de voornoemde gedeputeerdens van voorschreven natie sal aengewesen werden.

6. Dat de voornoemde Heeren oock sullen gelieven te ordonneeren dat in alle generale vergaderingen van gemeennen hoot ende commertie oock sullen geroepen werden twee persoonen uijt de Joodsche natie die haer geheel lickaem allen representeeren en nevens de andere burgeren mede hare advijsen in te brengen ten gemeennen dienst van den lande.

7. Alle de privilegien die aen andere natien worden vergunt, sullen die van de joodsche natie oock genieten.

8. De constumen ende constitutie die de Joodtsche portugeesche natie tusschen haer sullen ordonneeren, sullen gehouden sijn alle de Jooden die op de voorschreven cust sullen commen woonnen, te observeren, ende volgen.

9. Dat niennant sal mogen gemaent werden voor eenige gemaeckte schulden in Brazil ofte andere steden ofte coninckrijcken, uijtgesondert in dese provintien ofte aldaer in de populatie.

PROJECT FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE WILD COAST AND THE FURTHERANCE OF THE COLONIES AND CULTURE.

1st. That on the aforesaid coast there shall be delivered to the people of the Jewish nation 100 negroes, and to those here upon the production of the receipt through some one henceforth thereto commissioned by the Jewish nation, paying for the same in ready money, the sum of 150 guilders for a man or woman, two children from eight to twelve years to count for a man or woman, below eight years three for one, unweaned children to follow the mother.

2nd. Those paying in advance shall enjoy a rebate of ten per cent.

3rd. To all who have bought for ready money an equal number, if wanted, shall be credited, which credit shall be for the period of four years within which there shall be paid for each man or woman, or children reckoned as above, the sum of 250 guilders. Those paying before that period shall be given a discount for each year at the rate of 10 per cent, but those that shall have been delivered for ready money shall, with those on credit, remain together liable for payment.

4th. For the re-enforcement of the soldiers on the aforesaid coast for the defence of the colonists there shall be sent twenty-five additional men with the first ship.

5th. Those who are transported with the first ship to the aforesaid coast shall go for seven stuyvers for deck and eleven stuyvers for cabin passage per day. They shall receive from the warehouse there at a reasonable price their necessaries for the period of six months, each paying for the same out of the first fruits, and before these payments are made nothing shall be alienated or sent away.

6th. Implements and materials taken along shall as much as possible be accommodated in the ship on paying the proper freight.

7th. Those who are willing to go without partaking of the ship's food, may have passage for themselves for nothing.

8th. Those who support themselves there by agriculture shall enjoy freedom from tithes and head money for the period of five years.

9th. For debts incurred in Brazil demand shall not be made by the company or by individuals, much less shall execution issue against any one therefor.

And all this provisionally and with the expectation of amendment was resolved upon on the 19th of October, 1657, by the representatives of the respective cities here in Walcheren thereto commissioned for the furtherance and culture of the above named coast.

Whereupon it was resolved for the benefit of all those favoring the colonization and culture of the aforesaid Wild Coast, to distribute copies, signed by two commissioners, which shall serve to all as amplification of the published conditions and also for their further information.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 19, 1657.

The minutes were again submitted and confirmed. After a further conference held with some Jews, it was resolved to draw up further provisional conditions, to be printed, extending greatly the foregoing, which, after conference, shall be acted upon and through print be made generally known for the information of every one.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 1657.

Engaged with representatives of the Hebrew nation, and passed upon the further articles as printed, and resolved to send them thus to the respective chambers, in order to be posted, as customary.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 26, 1657.

Came to a closer understanding with representatives of the Hebrew nation, and contracted with them regarding the delivery of slaves on the Wild Coast, according to the agreement relating thereto entered separately in the agreement book, yet to be inserted in these minutes under date of January 24, 1658.

MARCH 22, 1658.

Read a request from the Hebrew nation at Leghorn, asking to be permitted to go from there to Essequibo. Whereupon, after deliberation, it was resolved to speak with Paulo Jacomo Pinto and to sound him as to what sum he should like to be paid by each person for transportation. Whereupon he has undertaken to write regarding this, and on receipt of answer to notify this meeting. The above named Pinto asks for 140 slaves to be paid for in ready money and a like number of 140 on time.

March 25, 1658.

The request of the Hebrew nation being again read, no other resolution can be passed than the one of the 22nd of this month, namely, to await the letter which Mr. Pinto expects.

April 1, 1658.

There appeared Adrien van Bullestrate de Jonge and represents that he is ready to hire out his ship called the *Eendracht*, skipper Leendert Stratman, 126 feet long, 25¾ feet broad, 11¾ feet hold, 5½ feet deck, mounted with 20 pieces and manned with a crew of 20, to go from here to Essequibo. Whereupon, deliberation having been had, an agreement was finally made as follows, to wit: that he for himself shall lade therein 1,000 planks, 600 half hogsheads, and 100 cellars, etc., etc. . . . .

On this occasion Paulo Jacomo Pinto requests that each of the emigrating passengers shall not only be allowed to take along a chest and a hogshead but also 2,000 planks, and all that may be necessary for the construction of a number of houses, mills or what may be necessary for the cultivation of the land, together with some provisions for their support, all of which is accorded to him and consented to.

Thursday, September 19, 1658.

There appeared Moses Netto and requests for some of his nation to send several tuns of beer to Nova Zeelandia, provided the freight charge and some excise be paid. With him also appeared the individual called William Sonneman making the same request. Whereupon, after consultation, it was resolved to answer them that we must first see whether all our goods can be laden in said ship, and if so we shall try to accommodate them.

September 26, 1658.

There appeared Sr. Paulo Jacomo Pinto, together with other representatives of the Jewish nation, asking that as soon as possible a ship may be got ready in order to be able to depart before the winter, and also that an executive may be sent in order to deal out justice, and they ask the commissioners to confer with them. Whereto were designated Messrs. Rouberger, Sijpersteijn and Vander Heyden, with Mr. Jan Van der Marct.

Tuesday, February 24, 1659.

Paulo Jacomo Pinto appears and requests to arrange with the commissioners regarding the transportation of the people from

Leghorn, who are to provide their own food, for 120 persons; secondly, he asks for 200 slaves for ready money and 200 on receipt. Whereupon, after consultation, it was resolved to answer that the commissioners propose to deliver to him 200 slaves to be paid for in ready money and 200 slaves on time, and, if he wishes, 100 on receipt shall be at his option. The commissioners propose to him for each person from Leghorn over 20 years £2: 10, and of 12 years two for one, and of eight years three for one, under 8 years nothing. Conditioned also, if he wishes, to receive £2. Flemish, with exemption from tax. Whereupon, he accepted the same, one or the other, whereupon he was wished good luck, with the understanding that the ships must come here in Zeeland.

April 29, 1659.

Mr. Paulo Jacomo Pinto appears and again requests that a ship be got ready to transport passengers to Essequibo, paying the freight of the goods, also their board and passage money. Whereupon, after consultation it was resolved to answer him that the members cannot as yet treat with him, and persist in the former resolution adopted on the 21st inst.

Thursday, November 20, 1659.

There were presented to the meeting by Paulo Jacomo Pinto a certain bill of exchange for f1764 drawn by Cornelius Goliath at fourteen days sight on the commissioners for Nova Zeelandia to pay to . . . . for certain provisions purchased. It was resolved to order payment to be made of the said bill of exchange, the order to be signed by Mr. Moens.

May 14, 1660.

Read a certain translation from the Portuguese language written from Pomeroon, dated January 4th last past, being accepted as a notice read and to be preserved in the letter book, to wait for conference and advices from Director Goliath. Also a certain draft agreement with David Nassy in regard to the procuring by Albertus Chinne at his own risk of 200 slaves from Nova Zeelandia and to transport them where he wills, except to Tobago or the nearest colonies, paying f200 for the adults, conditioned that they may be allowed by the commissioners to go free, as is more fully therein set out, which being seriously deliberated upon it was understood that the slaves there must be considered as the

sole salvation of the colony, and in all cases of trouble, &c., regarded as burnished silver; and because of this the said request was refused. Of this Mr. Pinto shall be notified.

THURSDAY, JULY 15, 1660.

There was read a request of David Casteel. To this the answer was made that the same will be referred to Commandeur Goliath to do the needful or to give his opinion why the contrary should be done.

There was also read a request of Rodrigo Lopes Toores. To it answer is made, nothing can be done about this except at a meeting of the whole body.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 6, 1661.

There appeared Mr. Paulo Jacomo Pinto showing how that between him and the company a contract was heretofore made regarding the sale of a number of slaves for certain colonists from Leghorn, for which a considerable sum of money was heretofore paid to the commissioners for Nova Zeelandia, which colonists, through an accident, were deviated to the island of Tobago and reduced to the utmost poverty, and since it was not possible to transport these people to Pomeroon because there was great mortality and weakness in Nova Zeelandia he requests that the money paid by them [for the slaves] may be returned. Whereupon, it was resolved to commission Mr. Moorthamer and the members from Flushing and Vere and Mr. Van der Heyden to examine into the matter and report thereon to the meeting.

THURSDAY, JULY 21, 1661.

There appeared Abraham Israel Orta asking restitution of payment made by him here through Pinto in March, 1659 for 12 slaves, which slaves were not delivered to him because he was deviated to Tobago instead of Pomeroon. Thereupon, after consultation it was resolved to answer him that in Nova Zeelandia an order will be given to deliver the same there, if possible, according to the receipt, and that the commissioners shall in the meantime determine upon a better method.

MONDAY, MARCH 12, 1663.

There also appeared Paulo Jacomo Pinto requesting delivery of 205 slaves heretofore contracted for on behalf of the people from Leghorn or those empowered by them; if not all at once, then at

least a part, and so successively until the full delivery. Whereupon it was resolved to inform him that at Pomeroon about 60 slaves have already been delivered under said contract, through skipper Jan Doens, and that the commissioners deem that they have carried out their contract with the completed voyage of Leendert van der Strate and Dingman Cats, and that the misfortune occurring to the friends from Leghorn is without their fault and negligence, and they are therefore not liable for the getting ready of another equipment. It being also expressly understood that for the £517: 15 handed over to said Pinto, according to the bill book, for account of the people from Leghorn, there shall be transferred to them as many orders for the delivery of slaves for ready money as were sold some time ago at 30 to 40 £ Fl. each, like those heretofore offered to the commissioners, numbering altogether about 70 slaves. And with regard to the remaining orders that each holder of the same shall have to transfer [the slaves] for such price as the same shall have been purchased for after having been examined by the commissioners, who shall thereupon give their decision saying whether or not they will take them.

FROM THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE ZEELAND CHAMBER OF THE WEST INDIA COMPANY.

(Hague, *Reijksarchief*, West India papers, cover title, *Resolutien van de Camer van Zeelandt*, 3 Jan., 1658-31 May, 1663.)

NOVEMBER 23, 1662.

There appeared Paulo Jacomo Pinto with Jacomo Nunes Pereira, with commissioners for Nova Zeelandia, in order to contract for the receiving of 12 slaves at Pomeroon, and also at the same time to receive 12 more slaves against an old receipt. Whereupon the answer was given to him that regarding the first request he will be treated as to price like others who have contracts, and regarding the last request the answer is given him that in case of a sale the commissioners shall be the next ones to have the receipt drawn in.

GENERAL ULYSSES S. GRANT AND THE JEWS.

By Joseph Lebowich.

I.

La Grange, Tenn., November 9, 1862.

Major-General Hurlbut, Jackson, Tenn.:

Refuse all permits to come south of Jackson for the present. The Israelites especially should be kept out.

What troops have you now, exclusive of Stevenson's brigade?

U. S. Grant,
Major-General.[1]

II.

La Grange, Tenn., November 10, 1862.

General Webster, Jackson, Tenn.:

Give orders to all the conductors on the road that no Jews are to be permitted to travel on the railroad southward from any point. They may go north and be encouraged in it; but they are such an intolerable nuisance that the department must be purged of them.

U. S. Grant,
Major-General.[2]

III.

Hdqrs. Thirteenth A. C., Dept. of the Tenn.,
Oxford, Miss., December 17, 1862.

Hon. C. P. Wolcott, Assistant Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.:

I have long since believed that in spite of all vigilance that can be infused into post commanders, the specie regulations of the Treasury Department have been violated, and that mostly by

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[1] "Official Records of the War of the Rebellion," Series I, Vol. XVII, Part II, p. 330.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 337.

Jews and other unprincipled traders. So well satisfied have I been of this that I instructed the commanding officer at Columbus to refuse all permits to Jews to come South, and I have frequently had them expelled from the department, but they come in with their carpet-sacks in spite of all that can be done to prevent it. The Jews seem to be a privileged class that can travel everywhere. They will land at any wood-yard on the river and make their way through the country. If not permitted to buy cotton themselves they will act as agents for someone else, who will be at a military post with a Treasury permit to receive cotton and pay for it in Treasury notes which the Jew will buy up at an agreed rate, paying gold.

There is but one way that I know of to reach this case; that is, for the Government to buy all the cotton at a fixed rate and send it to Cairo, Saint Louis, or some other point to be sold. Then all traders (they are a curse to the army) might be expelled.

U. S. GRANT,
Major-General.[3]

IV.

General Orders, No. 11. } HDQRS. THIRTEENTH A. C., DEPT. OF THE TENN. Holly Springs, December 17, 1862.

The Jews, as a class violating every regulation of trade established by the Treasury Department and also department orders, are hereby expelled from the department within twenty-four hours from the receipt of this order.

Post commanders will see that all of this class of people be furnished passes and required to leave, and any one returning after such notification will be arrested and held in confinement until an opportunity occurs of sending them out as prisoners, unless furnished with permit from headquarters.

No passes will be given these people to visit headquarters for the purpose of making personal applications for trade permits.

By order of MAJ.-GEN. U. S. GRANT.

JNO. A. RAWLINS,
Assistant Adjutant-General.[4]

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[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 421, 422.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 424.

V.

Circular.

HDQRS. THIRTEENTH A. C., DEPT. OF THE TENN.,
Holly Springs, Miss., January 7, 1863.

By direction of General-in-Chief of the Army, at Washington, the general order from these headquarters expelling Jews from the department is hereby revoked.

By order of MAJ.-GEN. U. S. GRANT.

JNO. A. RAWLINS,
Assistant Adjutant-General.[5]

The first question which must be settled is the authorship of these orders; for, if General Grant did not issue them, as is claimed, then only the charge of negligence can be brought against him, the almost pardonable negligence of the busy, storm-centered general, who has unfortunately missed an obscure command of an inferior officer. Hon. Simon Wolf during the first presidential campaign of General Grant, attempted to get the inside history of Order No. 11, which seems to have been the only one known publicly at that time. In answer to inquiries made to General Badeau, one of Grant's closest friends, Mr. Wolf received the following reply:

MY DEAR MR. WOLF:

I have brought your request to the attention of Gen. Grant, and while he would like very much indeed to comply therewith, yet he fears that any statement made by him now would be misconstrued by the general public. He, therefore, prefers not to make any explanation other than what you have already received. He desires me to express his hearty and sincere appreciation for the interest you have taken, knowing that your motives are actuated by friendship and a desire to do justice, not only to himself, but to the people whom you so worthily represent.

Very truly yours,

ADAM BADEAU.[6]

March, 1868.

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[5] *Ibid.*, p. 544.

[6] "The Temple," Vol. I, No. 2, p. 1.

Mr. Wolf further says in his interesting article "Fifty Years at Home and Abroad:"[7] "after his (Grant's) election I had a long and interesting conversation with him and then for the first time he told me that he had absolutely nothing whatever to do with said order; there were official blanks at the headquarters just as there are official blanks in the different courts, in the one case having the name of the General printed, and in the other that of the Chief Justice of the Court, which were used in making orders; that said Order No. 11 had been issued from headquarters upon the report made by General Sherman, who had complained that there were a large number of citizens, especially Jews, who were violating the rules and laws of war in running the blockade and in purchasing cotton contrary to law, and that it was demoralizing and proving very injurious to the service, in consequence of which, in the absence of General Grant, the order was made by one of the staff officers, but, unfortunately, bore the name of General Grant, and he never would state the facts as here given, simply because he did not wish any one, as he stated, to suppose that he was seeking public applause; he would rather suffer in silence." This explanation of Order No. 11, given with such great assurance by Mr. Wolf would have to be taken as final were it not for the fact that written testimony is always given precedence over oral. In a letter dated September 14, 1868, to Hon. I. N. Morris, Congressman from Illinois, General Grant writes, relative to Order No. 11:

At the time of its publication, I was incensed by a reprimand received from Washington for permitting acts which Jews within my lines were engaged in. There were many other persons within my lines equally bad with the worst of them, but the difference was that the Jews could pass with impunity from one army to the other, and gold, in violation of orders, was being smuggled through the lines, at least so it was reported. The order was

[7] "The American Hebrew," November 24, 1905.

issued and sent without any reflection and without thinking of the Jews as a sect or race to themselves, but simply as persons who had successfully (I say successfully instead of persistently, because there were plenty of others within my lines who envied their success) violated an order, which greatly inured to the help of the rebels.

Give Mr. Moses assurance that I have no prejudice against sect or race, but want each individual to be judged by his own merit. Order No. 11 does not sustain this statement, I admit, but then I do not sustain that order. It never would have been issued if it had not been telegraphed the moment it was penned, and without reflection.

Yours truly,

U. S. GRANT.[8]

It is true that nowhere in this letter to Mr. Morris does General Grant specifically mention that he personally penned this order, but the most favorable reading of this communication cannot be interpreted as a denial of the authorship of Order No. 11.

It is a fact that during the campaign of General Grant for the presidency, many letters were addressed to the newspapers by the "Constant Readers," "Justices," and the other sign-posts of modesty, calling attention to Order No. 11. Simon Wolf, however, defended Grant by mouth and pen[9] and called upon Mr. Adolph Moses to do likewise. Mr. Moses, however, wrote a strong letter to the *Chicago Times*[10] claiming that as "General Grant in insulting the Jews, has violated a principle guaranteed by the charter of our liberties . . . . we can oppose him, and not for insulting the Jews or anybody else." This letter, published in the heat of the campaign, caused Mr. Morris, a friend of General Grant, to bring the entire matter to the personal attention of the presidential nominee by requesting Mr. Moses to write to Grant. It was agreed by all that any answer which Grant

[8] *The Occident*, Jan., 1869, Vol. XXVI, pp. 440, 441.
[9] *Boston Daily Advertiser.*
[10] Tuesday, August 25, 1868.

might send to Mr. Moses would not be published during the campaign, so that the General's motives might not be misjudged. General Grant had thus the opportunity of disclaiming once and for always any direct responsibility for Order No. 11. In his answer to Mr. Morris, Grant did not deny the authorship of the Order, and moreover gave what was practically a confirmation of his responsibility for sending it out in the closing sentence of his letter. "It never would have been issued, if it had not been telegraphed the moment it was penned, and without reflection." It is significant that nowhere, either in his "Memoirs" or in his other published writings, does Grant give an explanation or attempt a defense of a matter which he must have felt was "injudicious" to say the least. If silence gives consent, then we cannot but believe that General Grant was the author of the order. But had we any doubts they would be dispelled by William Conant Church. Mr. Church, an admiring biographer of General Grant writes: [11]

"As soon as an advanced position was obtained by the army, the government, greatly to the annoyance of the military officers, sought immediately to extend trade to the limits of the military line. General Grant was so greatly annoyed by this, that when at Holly Springs, in December, 1862, he got himself into trouble by an indiscreetly worded order expelling from his department within twenty-four hours 'the Jews as a class.' This was revoked three weeks later by orders from Washington, and it was made the basis of unjust charges of religious prejudice. General Grant declared that he had not found one honest man following the Army as a trader, and, be he Jew or Christian, he hated a thief." Had General Grant been blameless of the authorship of Order No. 11, Mr. Church would endoubtedly have cleared him from the fault of issuing an "indiscreet order."

[11] "Ulysses S. Grant," G. P. Putnam's Sons, pp. 184, 185.

The first dispatch in which the Jews were singled out as those "especially" to "be kept out" of Grant's lines was sent to General Hurlbut from La Grange, Tenn., on November 9, 1862, and was signed by U. S. Grant. Then, on the next day, came the order to General Webster "that no Jews are to be permitted to travel on the railroad southward from any point." This also was signed with General Grant's name. It was five weeks after this order to General Webster that the long letter to the Assistant Secretary of War was sent by General Grant. I have never heard of a denial of the authorship of this letter, either from Grant or any of his friends. This letter (III) to Wolcott was sent on December 17, 1862, the same day that Order No. 11 (IV) was issued, and was, most likely, sent as a defense of the letter. Order No. 11, however, had been preceded by over a week by a

General Order. HOLLY SPRINGS, MISS., Dec. 8, 1862.

On account of the scarcity of provisions all cotton speculators, Jews, and other vagrants having no honest means of support, except trading upon the misery of the country, and in general all persons from the North not connected with the army whatever, and having no permission from the Commanding-General to remain in town, will leave in twenty-four (24) hours or will be put to duty in the intrenchments.

By order of COL. JNO. V. DU BOIS, U. S. Army.[12]

When Order No. 11 was issued a storm of protest from Jew and Gentile began to flow into Washington, and to General Grant.[13] Mr. Silverman, one of those affected by the order, begged permission to telegraph to General Grant to ask him if he had issued the instructions, but in this he was unsuccessful. The *Louisville Journal,* the *St. Louis Democrat,* and other newspapers commented editorially upon the

[12] *American Israelite,* Dec. 26, 1862, p. 1.

[13] A full account of this matter is to be found in Vol. IX of *The American Israelite,* pp. 202, 210, 220, 228, 236.

matter. The *American Israelite* sent General Grant a marked copy which contained a strong protest against Order No. 11. It seems hardly possible that from November 9, 1862, the day on which the first order excluding Jews was issued under Grant's name, until January 7, 1863, when all such orders were revoked (V) Grant should have remained ignorant of the orders and their effect. Mr. Wolf seems to believe that Grant knew nothing of all these orders, that they were issued by his subordinates without his knowledge or consent, and that he did not know of their existence until the following dispatch brought it home to him:

WAR DEPARTMENT,
Washington, January 4, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL GRANT,
Holly Springs, Miss.

A paper purporting to be General Orders, No. 11, issued by you December 17, has been presented here. By its terms it expels all Jews from your department.

If such an order has been issued, it will be immediately revoked.

H. W. HALLECK,
General-in-Chief.[14]

But the fact that General Grant in his letter to Hon. I. N. Morris virtually charges himself with the authorship of the order; that in all his writings he never attempts an explanation or a defense; that nearly all his biographers remain dumb on the subject; that a friendly biographer calls it an "indiscreetly worded order," but does not deny that Grant penned it; that for two months Grant allowed the order expelling Jews from his lines to stand; that Grant never revoked the order until commanded from Washington; all drive us, against our will, to the conclusion that not only was General Grant

[14] "Official Records of the War of the Rebellion," Series I, Vol. XVII, Part II, p. 530.

cognizant of all the orders (I, II, III, IV) but actually penned them himself.[15]

General Grant in his letter to Mr. Morris writes, "Give Mr. Moses assurance that I have no prejudice against sect or race, but want each individual to be judged by his own merit."

Grant's dealings with Jews, both before and after the issuing of Order No. 11, showed not only his freedom from the slightest taint of anti-Semitism but proved that he was a friend of the Jew. His friendship with the Seligmans began in Watertown, New York, in 1848; his relationship with the Jewish officers and men that served under him in the Civil War; his official appointments and acts during his eight years in the Presidential office; and his life after that, all go to prove that General Grant was singularly free from race prejudice. In fact Hon. Simon Wolf, who was very close to Grant while President, puts it down as a historical fact that President Grant during his eight years in office "did more on and in behalf of American citizens of Jewish faith, at home and abroad, than all the Presidents of the United States prior thereto or since."[16]

[15] During the campaign of 1868 numerous letters, pro and con, some wise but mostly otherwise, were sent to the newspapers, but probably the most virulently written tirade against Grant was a pamphlet of 12 pages entitled, "General Grant and the Jews, by H. V. Bort. Price ten cents. National News Co., N. Y., 1868."

[16] *The Temple*, Vol. I, No. 2, p. 2, April, 1898. And see the paper by Isaac Markens, *infra*, p. 116 *et seq.*

THE CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN SOLOMON ETTING AND HENRY CLAY.

By Walter H. Liebmann.

The writer of this paper is the fortunate possessor of the following interesting letters:

Baltimore, July 15th, 1832.

Dear Sir: You know that I am your friend, and therefore I write to you freely. Several of the religious society to which I belong, myself included, feel both surprised and hurt by the manner in which you introduce the expression "the Jew," in debate in the Senate of the United States, evidently applying it as a reproachful designation of a man whom you considered obnoxious in character and conduct.

I do not know the person you allude to, the term "The Jew" *as used by you*, is considered illiberal. If therefore, you have no antipathy to the people of that religious society, I can readily believe you will have no objection to explain to me by a line, what induced the expression.

I am, with respect and esteem,

Your Obt. St.

S. Etting.

Hon. H. Clay,
United States Senate, Washington.

Washington, 16th July, 1832.

My dear Sir: I regret extremely to perceive from your letter of yesterday, that you have thought it possible that a remark of mine, applied to a subordinate officer of the Customs who was in attendance here, was liable to an unfavorable interpretation in respect to the Jews generally. Nothing could have been further from my intention. The remark was intended to describe a person, and not to denounce a Nation. It was strictly, moreover, defensive. Some of my friends who were in the Senate had been attacked by Genl. Hayne, as I thought, rudely for the assistance which they had rendered about the Tariff.

In reply I said they were not the only persons attending on that object, but that on the other side, Moses Myers (or Myers Moses, for I do not yet know his proper designation), had been summoned by the Secretary of the Treasury, and might be seen daily skipping about the house; and I proceeded to describe his person, &c.

I judge of men, not exclusively by their Nation, religion, &c., but by their individual conduct. I have always had the happiness to enjoy the friendship of many Jews, among them one of the Gratz's of Lexington, formerly of Philadelphia, stands in the most intimate and friendly relations to me; but I cannot doubt that there are bad jews as well as bad christians and bad mahometans.

I hope, my dear sir, that you will consider this letter perfectly satisfactory.

With great regards, I am,

Truly yours,

H. CLAY.

SOLOMON ETTING, ESQ.

A report of the debate in which Henry Clay used the expression to which Mr. Etting objected, is reported in Gale's and Seaton's "Register of Debates in Congress," Vol. 8, Part 1.

It there appears that on July 3, 1832, the Senate was considering the question of the tariff.

Louis McLane, the Secretary of the Treasury, had, at the request of Congress, introduced a bill which was referred in the House to the Committee on Manufactures, of which John Quincy Adams was chairman. The bill became known as the "Adams Bill," passed both Houses with some amendments, and became a law on July 14, 1832.

It was this bill which was under consideration. An amendment provided that the duty on flannels, bockings and baizes should not be *less* than 50 per cent ad valorem. The bill itself fixed the duty on these articles at 16 cents per square yard.

Mr. Hayne moved to amend the amendment, by providing that the duty should not be more than 50 per cent ad valorem.

He stated that it would be unfair, where a specific duty was provided, to provide that it should in no case fall below an ad valorem duty, while in some cases it increased the duty above 50 per cent. Mr. Clay opposed the amendment. Mr. Hayne's amendment was carried. Mr. Clay then said he hoped the amendment itself as amended by Mr. Hayne's motion, would be rejected, as it effected a reduction of duties on all flannels to 50 per cent. Mr. Webster opposed the amendment, and thought that if it prevailed, the whole manufactures in the North would be broken down. A debate followed. Mr. Hayne said that it was a question with him whether their legislation was not influenced by certain lobby members (alluding to one or two gentlemen who occupied seats behind the bar of the Senate).

The agriculturists were not thus represented by agents. They refrained from thus influencing our legislation. In the progress of this measure it would be shown that many items had been introduced, that otherwise would have found no place in the bill, by the special influence of the manufacturers and those who acted as their agents within those walls. Mr. Hayne again alluded to the determination of manufacturers and agents of manufacturers on that floor to counteract every measure for their self interest that tended to the public relief.

Mr. Webster rose and asked if the Senator from South Carolina alluded to him as the agent of any manufacturer.

Mr. Hayne replied "by no means."

Mr. Webster said there was a time when their fellow-citizens could not come within the walls of Congress without having reflections made on their character. Happily those days had gone by. He had thought that the Senator from South Carolina would have been the last to renew the system. It was averred by him that many enactments in the bill would not have been passed had it not been for the influence of lobby members. Mr. Webster then proceeded to defend the character of the "lobbyist" attacked, and said

that he had come there at his request to give him certain information. "And yet for this a reflection had been thrown out that would strike many as uncalled for, and might be designated by language which he would refrain from using."

"Let me see the man," Mr. Webster is reported to have said, "who will tell citizens of the United States when they proceed to look after the vital and important public interests of the country, that they are lobby members. The person referred to was Mr. Gallatin. He would tell the honorable gentlemen that when his, Mr. Webster's friends came here, they were not to be sneered at and denounced as using improper influences."

Mr. Hayne said that the gentleman from Massachusetts had determined to understand his words in his own way. But injustice had been done him if it were thought he was against the right of every citizen to watch over his interests. But he had for some time witnessed, as so must others, such palpable breaches of all courtesy by a person leaning over the bar, speaking not to one person but to several, and interfering in the business pending, from the moment his motion was made, that if it were again to be repeated, he, Mr. Hayne, would feel himself bound to move his expulsion from the preferred seats.

Mr. Hayne alluded to the aspersions that had been thrown out from the gentlemen on the other side, in which Mr. Sarchet, of Philadelphia, had been denounced, and defended him as an upright and an honorable man.

Mr. Clay said that he would speak his mind without fear of recrimination. He and every other member had a right to all the information they could acquire, and this right he would exercise. If he was not far mistaken, a small man with red hair, might for some time past have been seen flitting about between the House of Representatives and the Treasury Department, using his exertions to cut down the protective system. Why was not also this interference denounced? No, there was no danger that this person, and he would name him,

Moses Myers, the Jew, would be so held up. As regarded Mr. Sarchet, he would let the records of the country speak for themselves. He protested against the gentleman's amendment as a total and complete sacrifice of this great manufacture.

The question was then taken on the amendment, when it was rejected by a vote of 19 to 26.

The above contains everything that the reporters have to say about the incident.

It will be noticed that Mr. Clay's remark came at the end of a long and bitter discussion, in which personal criticisms were frequently made. But Mr. Clay's explanation to Mr. Etting must have been satisfactory to that gentleman, as the published report of the debate seems to justify Mr. Clay in his statement that he only intended the words "the Jew," as descriptive.

The identity of Clay's victim is not altogether free from doubt. Clay himself was evidently not certain whether his name was Moses Myers or Myers Moses. Considering, however, that the Senate was considering the question of the tariff, it is more than probable that the person Clay meant was Moses Myers, of Norfolk, Virginia, who had held office in the customs service of the Federal Government, and was therefore probably familiar with questions pertaining to the tariff.

It appears in the *Executive Journal of the United States Senate,* Vol. 3 (1815-1829), pages 580, 594, that President John Quincy Adams, nominated Moses Myers on December 24, 1827, to be Collector of Customs for the District of Norfolk and Portsmouth, Virginia, and that he was confirmed by the Senate on January 15, 1828. His name appears in the "Register of Officers and Agents," civil, military and naval, in the service of the United States on the 30th day of September, 1829, prepared at the Department of State, Washington City, 1830, as follows: "Moses Myers, Collector, Superintendent of Lights and Agent of Marine Hospital." It further

appears that he was born in New York, and that he served his country for the modest compensation of $904.83 per annum. His name does not appear in the *Register* of 1833 or 1835, and it appears in the *Executive Journal,* Volume 4, page 63, that his successor was confirmed by the Senate on March 19, 1830.

If this is the Moses Myers referred to in Mr. Clay's letter, then Clay must have been mistaken in calling him a subordinate officer of the customs on July 16, 1832, as his name does not appear in any register as an officer of the Treasury Department during that year.

John Quincy Adams' "Memoirs," Vol. 8, page 397, throw a little more light on Moses Myers' character and attainments. We read there, that General Van Rensselaer of New York, in January, 1828, "spoke also of Moses Myers, a man whose nomination it was expected would be opposed in Senate, but which they have confirmed. Van Rensselaer said, he believed their only objection against him was that he was an honest man, the first in that collectorship for many years."

In Forest's "Historical and Descriptive Sketches of Norfolk and Vicinity," page 116, we find a reference to Moses Myers' "counting room" in Norfolk, an indication that he was a merchant of some prominence.

There are two other references to Moses Myers, both from Jewish sources. His incumbency of important Federal office was noted by Francis H. Goldsmid, of London, in his tract "The Arguments Addressed Against the Enfranchisement of the Jews Considered," in which as an argument in favor of the emancipation of the Jews in England, a "List of Jews Holding Office in the United States in 1833" was printed, containing his name among others.

Mr. Hühner re-printed this list in No. 12 of the *Publications* of this Society, at page 164.

So also in Frankland's "Fragments of History," in the *American Jews' Annual* for 1889, reprinted by Max J. Kohler

in *Publications* No. 11, page 71, a passage is reprinted from an "Address of Israelites to the Common Council of Richmond," in which the Richmond Jews of a later day say that they "refer with pride to the names of some of their predecessors who have descended to an honored grave; such men as Moses Myers, of Norfolk."

There have been several incidental references in *Publications* heretofore, to Henry Clay's relations to the Jews. As for instance, in No. 16, at page 32, where his intimacy with the well-known Gratz family mentioned by Clay in the above letter is referred to, Benjamin Gratz, the brother of Rebecca, having resided near Clay at Lexington, Kentucky, for many years.

Clay's correspondent, Solomon Etting, belonged to the well-known Baltimore family of that name, and was elected to the Baltimore City Council in 1825, after a contest affecting the right of Jews to hold office, and subsequently became President of the Council. Another member of the family, Reuben Etting, was appointed United States Marshal for Maryland, by Thomas Jefferson, in 1801. (See *Jewish Encyclopedia,* articles on Baltimore and Etting.)

The above paper was read at the annual meeting of the American Jewish Historical Society, at New York City, on May 17, 1908.

Since the reading of the paper, the writer has received several letters from Mrs. Thomas H. Clay, of Lexington, Kentucky. One of these letters is added, and it is interesting as showing the relationship between the family of Henry Clay and the family of the Mr. Gratz referred to in the above letter to Mr. Etting.

231 North Mill St.,

Lexington, Kentucky, May 20th, 1908.

Mr. Walter Liebmann, New York.

Dear Sir: I read with the greatest interest, the proceedings of the Jewish American Historical Society, reported in the New

York *Times* of Monday, May 18th, and I am especially interested in the letter of Henry Clay to Solomon Etting of Baltimore. I am a daughter of the Gratz mentioned in the letter, and my husband was a grandson of Henry Clay.

I shall thank you very much if you will tell me in which speech Henry Clay alluded, with even seeming disrespect, to the greatest nation! I am endeavoring to complete a life of his grandfather, which my husband had begun, and I shall make use of this letter to Solomon Etting, who was my father's cousin.

Yours truly,

ANNA GRATZ CLAY
(Mrs. Thomas H. Clay).

In a later letter Mrs. Clay states that her father was a pallbearer at the funeral of Henry Clay.

THE JEWS OF GEORGIA FROM THE OUTBREAK OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION TO THE CLOSE OF THE 18TH CENTURY.

By Leon Hühner, A. M., LL. B.

When, in July, 1775, the Georgia Provincial Congress was in session debating on the critical relations between the colonies and the mother country, the Rev. John J. Zubly, then perhaps the most prominent Protestant minister in the colony, preached a sermon before the Congress, in which he rebuked the spirit of submission which had been preached by other divines, who had quoted both the old and new testaments as arguments for bearing their grievances in silence.

In the course of his remarks the Rev. Mr. Zubly gave utterance to the following: "As to the Jewish religion it cannot be charged with favoring despotism. The whole system of that religion is so replete with laws against injustice and oppression; and by one of its express rites it proclaimed liberty throughout the land to all the inhabitants thereof."[1]

That statement goes indeed far to explain how it happened that the adherents of Judaism, a race naturally conservative, should have been far more uniformly attached to the cause of liberty during the Revolutionary period than most of the other denominations. It is also interesting to note, that as a general thing the leaders of the congregation were generally the ones who took a most prominent part in the patriot cause.

At the outbreak of the Revolution the Jews in Georgia were few in number, there being in 1771 no more than about forty Jewish families in the colony. Yet these few have left their

[1] "The Law of Liberty," a sermon preached at the opening of the Provincial Congress of Georgia by John J. Zubly, D. D., July, 1775. *American Archives*, 4th Series, Vol. 2, p. 1563.

impress on Georgia's history, and made an enviable record on their country's annals.

It may not be amiss here to briefly review the career of the Jews in the colony before hostilities commenced. In Georgia, Jewish history commences almost contemporaneously with the founding of the colony, for the first Jewish settlers, both the German and Portuguese (who seem to have come independently of each other), arrived in 1733 shortly after Oglethorpe. From the very start, therefore, they shared with their Christian fellow-settlers all the struggles and hardships of pioneers in a strange land.[2]

It was not long before the Jews became an important factor in colonial life; for entirely apart from commercial enterprise, the two great industries to which the trustees looked primarily for success, namely, vine culture and silk culture, were at the start almost exclusively developed by Jewish colonists.

Toleration being general, a spirit of universal brotherhood was fostered, the evidence of which may still be found in the "Union Society," which is still one of the most important charitable organizations in Savannah. This society was founded in 1750 by three men of different creeds, a Protestant, a Catholic, and Benjamin Sheftall, a Jew. The name "Union" was adopted after the first few years of its existence, to emphasize the fact that though its founders belonged to different creeds they were all united on the broad ground of the brotherhood of man.[3] It was but natural, therefore, that

[2] See paper by the present writer on "The Jews of Georgia in Colonial Times."

[3] See "Minutes of the Union Society," Savannah, 1860, p. 126. Also an interesting account given in "Historic and Picturesque Savannah," by Adelaide Wilson, Boston, 1899, pp. 28, 82, etc. Also "Census of the City of Savannah," by Joseph Bancroft, Savannah, 1848, p. 45. Also paper by the present writer on "The Jews of Georgia in Colonial Times," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 10, p. 65, etc.

the Jews in such a colony should take the same warm interest in its welfare as their Christian brethren.

Throughout the entire struggle for independence in Georgia, we meet with scarcely any Jewish loyalists, and one of these had held office under the crown for many years before. This was Moses Nunez, searcher of the Port of Savannah, who appears as Indian Interpeter in 1779, in a list of names of "officers of his Majesty's province."[4]

At the very start, when a spirit of resistance took hold of the patriots, those in Savannah organized what was known as the "Parochial Committee," or as the British termed it, the "Rebel Parochial Committee," which regulated the internal affairs of the town. The chairman of this organization was Mordecai Sheftall, a Jew, the son of the founder of the Union Society of which he was likewise a member. It was as *Chairman of the Rebel Parochial Committee* that Sheftall was persecuted by the British during the war.[5]

In August, 1774, a general meeting was held at Savannah to protest against the blockade of Boston Harbor and taxation without representation. Some of the citizens of Savannah at once got up a dissent from these resolutions, though it by no means follows that they were loyalists. On the contrary, some of them were subsequently numbered among the most distinguished in the patriot cause. They dissented merely because of the arbitrary way in which the former meeting had been held, many districts not having been represented at all.

The dissent closes with these words: "Upon the whole, the world will judge whether the meeting of the 10th inst,

[4] "Georgia Historical Society Collections," Vol. 3, p. 252. Also "Historical Collections of Georgia," compiled from original records and official documents by Rev. George White, M. A., New York, 1855, p. 38, etc. He does not appear to have been an active partisan however.

[5] White's "Historical Collections of Georgia," pp. 98, 104, 105.

held by a few persons in a tavern, with doors shut can with any appearance of truth or decency be called a general meeting of the inhabitants of Georgia. Having given our reason at large, we enter this our public dissent and do earnestly desire that such resolutions may not be taken as the sense of the inhabitants of Georgia." This paper is signed by James Habersham, Noble Jones and other distinguished men. It bears 80 signatures, among them those of Moses Nunez and Joseph Ottolenghe.[6]

After Lexington and Concord, however, the colonists were sufficiently aroused to take sides. The first Provincial Congress met at Savannah July 4, 1775. On that occasion, the President of Congress received and read a resolution adopted by several of the inhabitants of Savannah in June, 1775. After reciting that all peaceful measures ought first to be exhausted, on the ground that the interests of the province are inseparable from the mother country, the resolution concluded "That this province ought and it is hoped will forthwith join the other provinces in every just and legal measure to secure and restore the liberty of all America and for healing the unhappy divisions now subsisting between Great Britain and her colonies."

Among the 35 signatures attached to this resolution are those of J. Lucena and Levi Sheftall, a brother of Mordecai Sheftall.[7]

The patriot cause in Georgia was, however, by no means encouraging. This is best shown by figures. Although at the outbreak of hostilities the colony numbered 20,000 inhabitants, she had but 1000 militia throughout 1775 and 1776 and from 1779 to 1782 the militia numbered but 750, because, as is stated by General Jackson, the State at that time "was

[6] White's "Historical Collections of Georgia," p. 49, etc.

[7] White's "Historical Collections of Georgia," p. 66. See also "A History of Georgia," by Rev. William Bacon Stevens, Philadelphia, 1859, Vol. 2, p. 107.

totally ravaged by the enemy and the citizens of Georgia never quit the field, although compelled to abandon not only their homes but frequently their State." [8]

In the very beginning of the struggle some Jewish names appear prominently in the Revolutionary line. Most prominent of these beyond doubt was Mordecai Sheftall subsequently Commissary General for South Carolina and Georgia.[9] Besides him we find the following among the Revolutionary officers of the colony, Lieutenant Abraham Seixas,[10] a brother of the Rev. Gershom Seixas, the patriot minister of New York; Cushman Polock,[11] Sheftall Sheftall,[12] and Lieutenant David Sarzedas [13] who was the son of Abraham Sarzedas and whose mother was Caty Hays, a daughter of Judah Hays of New York.[14]

[8] "Statistics of the State of Georgia," by George White, Savannah, 1849, p. 64. Also "The Life and Services of General Samuel Elbert," by C. C. Jones, 1887, p. 44, etc.

[9] White's "Historical Collections of Georgia," pp. 114, 348, etc. "Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army during the War of the Revolution," by F. B. Heitman, Washington, 1893, p. 363. "New York Historical Society Collections," 1879, pp. 260, etc. "Bulletin of the Bureau of Rolls and Library of the Department of State," No. 3 (Washington Papers), pp. 106-7. See also article on Mordecai Sheftall by the present writer in the Baltimore *Jewish Comment* for November 9 and 16, 1900.

[10] White's "Historical Collections, etc.," p. 113. White's "Statistics, etc.," p. 65. Daly's "Settlement of Jews in North America," p. 72.

[11] "New York Historical Society Collections," 1879, p. 264, etc.

[12] White's "Historical Collections, etc.," pp. 113, 114, etc. White's "Statistics, etc.," p. 65.

[13] *Ibid.*

[14] Abraham Sarzedas was enrolled as a freeman in New York as early as 1753 but removed to Georgia shortly afterward. See paper by the present writer on the "Jews of Georgia in Colonial Times." Also *Publications of American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 6, p. 102.

The Savannah Congregation broke up as soon as hostilities commenced and several of its members joined the patriots in the field.

Mordecai Sheftall soon became one of the prominent Revolutionary officers of Georgia. At the very start, he joined the patriots and as we have seen, was well known as Chairman of the Parochial Committee. After the beginning of war, he was appointed Commissary General to the troops of Georgia [15] and in 1777 General Elbert appointed him Commissary to the Continental troops as well.[16]

These duties he must have discharged creditably indeed for in October, 1778, Major-General Howe added to his other offices that of Deputy Commissary of Issues in South Carolina and Georgia.[17] He became a member of the general staff [18] and while unfortunately most of the detail of his service is lost, it is known that in 1778 when the British attacked Savannah his name was not only prominent among the patriot defenders of the city but he appears to have advanced considerable sums to the patriot cause as well.[19]

After the taking of Savannah, he was one of those who were so unfortunate as to fall into the hands of the British.

[15] See Dr. Friedenwald's article on "Jews in the Journal of the Continental Congress," *Publications of American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 1, p. 86, and references to the Journals of Congress there given. Also "Bulletin of the Bureau of Rolls and Library of the Department of State," No. 3 (Washington Papers), pp. 106-7. Also "New York Historical Society Collections," 1879, p. 260, etc.

[16] *Ibid.*

[17] *Ibid.*

[18] *Ibid.* Also White's "Historical Collections, etc.," p. 114. Also "Historical Register of Officers, etc.," by F. B. Heitman, p. 363.

[19] "Papers of the Continental Congress," No. 41, Vol. IX, p. 117. Also No. 136, Vol. IV, pp. 411, 591, 643 and 647. "Journal of Congress," Sept. 14, 1780. Compare article by present writer in *Jewish Comment* November 9 and 16, 1900.

It is during his captivity that his intense devotion to the cause of freedom becomes most manifest. He steadfastly resisted all temptation to abandon that cause and preferred to suffer years of hardship than to gain his liberty at the expense of principle.[20]

The British Commander offered a general pardon to all who would return to their allegiance and many special inducements were held out to such individuals.[21] Sheftall, however, remained unshaken in his fidelity, though this served materially to increase the hardships of his captivity.

To quote Stevens' "History of Georgia," "Those who refused to enlist after being alternately threatened and coaxed were put on board ships in the river, crowded together like slaves, terrorized over by every petty officer, stinted in provisions and every necessary of life and treated with savage barbarity so that four or five died every day." "Nor," says Stevens, "was this treatment confined to common soldiers alone. Civilians of standing and property were thrown indiscriminately into these prison ships and, in some instances, officers who had a military right to different treatment were as in the case of Mordecai Sheftall of the Georgia line, and the Reverend Moses Allen, Chaplain, thus immured."[22]

The "Georgia Historical Collections" also mention this patriot prominently as one of those placed on board the prison ships, because of his refusal to enlist in the British Service;[23] although it appears that the proclamation of Commodore Parker had induced a very considerable number of Americans to flock to the royal standard.[24]

[20] See White's "Historical Collections, etc.," p. 348, etc.

[21] "A History of Georgia," by Rev. William Bacon Stevens, Philadelphia, 1859, Vol. 2, p. 183, etc.

[22] *Ibid.*

[23] *Ibid.* See also White's "Historical Collections, etc.," p. 339, etc.

[24] *Ibid.*

It was during his captivity no doubt that Sheftall relieved his mind by jotting down the details of his imprisonment in a journal subsequently published under the title "Capture of Mordecai Sheftall, Deputy Commissary of Issues."[25] The writer will pass over the details of this captivity as shown in the journal referred to, as that more fully appears in a paper prepared by him which appeared in the *Jewish Comment*.[26]

The spirit of this patriot prisoner, while on the prison ship, appears from the following entry in his journal: "Captain Stanhope treated me with the most illiberal abuse, and after charging me with having refused to supply the King's ships with provisions and of having shut the church door together with many other ill natured things, ordered me on board the prison ship with my son. I made a point of giving Mr. Stanhope suitable answers to his impudent treatment."[27]

He appears in the language of the old record to have been designated by the British as "a very great rebel"; and was guarded accordingly.[28]

One of his fellow-prisoners on board the ship was Moses Valentonge. This soldier may possibly have been a Jew. The name appears in various forms as Moses Volloton, David Moses Vallotton[29] or Valentonge and again as Valentine. It is quite possible that he was the ancestor of the Valentine family which subsequently gave several prominent men to Jewish Congregations.[30]

These prisoners were taken to the West Indies, where they suffered great hardships and finally they were brought back, as captives, to Sunbury.[31]

[25] White's Historical Collections, etc., p. 339, etc.

[26] November 9 and 16, 1900.

[27] White's "Historical Collections, etc.," pp. 340-42, 348.

[28] *Ibid.*

[29] White's "Historical Collections, etc.," p. 339, etc.

[30] *Ibid.*, pp. 340-42. See also early volumes of *Occident*.

[31] White's "Historical Collections, etc.," p. 339, etc. Also "Historic and Picturesque Savannah," by Adelaide Wilson, p. 82, etc.

Among their number were some of the foremost patriots of Georgia, and they seem to have been allowed a certain measure of liberty. At the Lenox Library in New York, there is preserved an original manuscript copy of a document certified by John W. Arthur, Commissioner of Prisoners, dated June 19, 1779, which reads as follows:

We the subscribers being prisoners of War, taken by his Majesty's Troops, hereby engage and promise upon our words of honor, that we shall remain wherever the Commanding Officer of his Majesty's Army in Georgia shall think proper to have us quarter'd and remain within the bounds to us prescribed. And also that We shall not directly or indirectly act and serve against his Majesty and Government until we are properly exchanged either for Officers of the same Rank or on such terms as may be agreed upon whenever a Cartel is fixed upon.

Witness our hands at Savannah this 19th day of June One thousand seven hundred and seventy nine.

Signed Samuel Elbert, B. G. and servt.
John Habersham Major 1st C. B. Geo.
Mordecai Sheftall D. C. G. of Issues.

and some forty additional names.[31a]

It has already been mentioned that Mordecai Sheftall was a member of the Union Society. It was with pride that the citizens of Savannah at a later date, pointed to Mordecai Sheftall as the man who preserved the society in the darkest days of the Revolution.

Among his fellow-prisoners, it so happened that there were three others who were members of the society. According to its original rules, any three members could keep up the organization, and this Sheftall and his fellow-prisoners proceeded to do. For three years during their captivity they held their meetings and observed the anniversary of the

[31a] Emmett Collection, No. 7534. In the same collection (No. 7538) is a MS. list of American Officers not exchanged, which contains the names of Brigadier General Elbert Mordecai Sheftall, Dy. Commissary Genl. of Issues, Sheftall Sheftall Asst. Do. and the names of other prominent patriots.

society under a large oak tree. The names of these four patriots have been preserved with respect by their fellow-citizens. They are Mordecai Sheftall, John Martin (dreaded by the British under the name of "Black John from the Northward" and destined subsequently to become Governor of the State of Georgia), John Stirk, who had been a delegate to the first Continental Congress, and Josiah Powell. By these men Sheftall was chosen president.[32]

So highly did the citizens of Savannah at a later date appreciate the preservation of the organization, that when in 1825 General Lafayette, then the guest of the nation, laid the corner-stone of the Pulaski Monument, there was deposited therein, as appears from the "Georgia Historical Collections," "a piece of the oak tree under which in 1779 the charter of the Union Society was preserved and Mordecai Sheftall, then a prisoner of war, elected president." [33]

Again in 1850, at its centennial anniversary, the Society which numbered among its members the Governor and leading men of the State, was presented with a box made from the wood of the same oak and adopted the following resolution:

"The Society will preserve it, as a precious memorial of the patriotism and benevolence of the small but noble band, whose devotion to this Society was only strengthened, and brought into more active exercise by their glorious struggle for their liberty and honor, and by the calamities of captivity." [34]

It must have been by special privilege and while still under parole that Sheftall was permitted in 1780 to attend the

[32] *Ibid.* See also "Minutes of the Union Society," 1860, pp. 104, 113, 126. Also paper by the present writer in *Jewish Comment*, Baltimore, November 9 and 16, 1900.

[33] White's "Historical Collections of Georgia," p. 310. Under the branches of this same tree, also, Oglethorpe had opened the first lodge of Freemasons in Georgia.

[34] "Minutes of the Union Society," 1860, p. 112.

court-martial of General Howe, to which Mr. Kohler has heretofore called attention. In the course of his defense, General Howe stated, "Mordecai Sheftall is an honest man and from the testimony of such I know I have nothing to fear."[35] Cushman Polock also figured as a witness in these proceedings.[36]

Besides those already mentioned several decidedly Jewish names appear in the Georgia line though there is nothing to indicate their race. These are Lewis Solomon,[37] Isaac Avera,[38] Captain Wm. Aaron,[39] Joshua Barnett,[40] and Abraham Peavy.[41]

In Jones's life of General Elbert, David Sarzedas is mentioned as Lieutenant of Light Dragoons and as an officer of the general staff.[42] Among other names may be mentioned those of N. Lazarus,[43] Samuel Sampson,[44] Mordecai and Sheftall Sheftall,[45] as officers, and Captain Abraham Simons.[46]

The Minis family also was among the most distinguished and patriotic in the colony. Both William and James Minis fought in the Georgia line[47] and two of the most patriotic

[35] Trial of Major-General Howe, "New York Historical Society Collections," 1879, p. 301, etc.

[36] *Ibid.*, p. 264, etc.

[37] Smith's "History of Georgia, etc.," p. 629.

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 612.

[39] *Ibid.*

[40] *Ibid.*

[41] *Ibid.*, p. 621.

[42] White's "Statistics, etc.," p. 65. Also "The Life and Services of General Samuel Elbert of Georgia," by Charles C. Jones, 1887, p. 45.

[43] White's "Historical Collections, etc.," pp. 111, 112.

[44] *Ibid.*, p. 112.

[45] White's "Statistics, etc.," p. 65, and other authorities heretofore given.

[46] White's "Historical Collections, etc.," p. 682. Of the names last mentioned, only the Sheftalls have been positively identified as Jews.

[47] Smith's "History of Georgia, etc.," pp. 619, 627.

women of the South belonged to the same family. It was Mrs. Minis who brought food for Mordecai Sheftall at the commencement of his captivity [48] and both she and her daughter were conspicuous for their loyalty to the patriot cause. In a language of an old work on Georgia: "Both Mrs. Judy Minis and her mother were great whigs in the Revolutionary War. After Savannah was taken they were confined to their dwelling and were finally ordered to leave the town." [49] Mrs. Judy Minis died in 1826 at the age of 87.[50]

Lieutenant Abraham Seixas seems to have been another prominent officer in the Georgia line, and to have enjoyed the confidence of his superiors. He was frequently sent on dangerous and important missions. Thus in July, 1776, Colonel McIntosh mentions sending Lieutenant Seixas "of our batallion" to General Lee from Georgia to Charleston bearing important information.[51] In the same year we find Archibald Buller writing to Lee mentioning Colonel Seixas as the bearer of information.[52] And in September, 1782, Mr. Polock is mentioned in a similar connection in the correspondence between Greene and Marion.[53]

Some of the patriot Jews advanced considerable sums to the cause from the start. It has been heretofore pointed out by Dr. Herbert Friedenwald, how in 1778 Congress was considering the report of the Committee on the Treasury and ordered that Philip Minis be paid nearly $7000 for moneys advanced by him to the acting paymaster of the troops of Virginia and North Carolina in the State of Georgia.[54] Later in the same

[48] White's "Historical Collections, etc.," p. 339, etc.

[49] White's "Statistics, etc.," p. 167. [50] *Ibid.*

[51] "New York Historical Society Collections," 1872 (Lee Papers, Vol. 2), p. 168. [52] *Ibid.*, p. 171.

[53] R. W. Gibbes, "Documentary History of the American Revolution," p. 227.

[54] "Journal of the Continental Congress," August 29, 1778, and November 7, 1778.

year Congress directed payment of a bill of over $5000 in favor of Minis and Cohen and another for about $1300 in favor of Cushman Polock.[55] Mordecai Sheftall likewise gave financial aid and Mr. Kohler has called attention to the many Congressional documents showing the efforts to recover some of the moneys advanced by him to the American cause.[56] The petitions, documents and reports in this connection are quite numerous and the claim, though favorably reported, seems never to have been repaid,[57] meeting with no better success than the more important claims of Haym Salomon.

It may not be without interest to note here that when the patriots besieged Savannah with the French auxiliaries in October, 1779, it appears that General Lincoln in his plan of attack mentions as one of the rallying places "the Jews burying ground where the reserves will be placed."[58]

I am indebted to Mr. Rosenbach, of Philadelphia, for an interesting note connected with the siege of Savannah and found in Stevens' "Facsimiles of Manuscripts in European Archives," which relates to the landing of the French troops under Count D'Estang in September, 1779.[59]

The document recites that "Mr. Philip Minis, a merchant

[55] *Ibid.*, August 29, 1778.

[56] "Journals of Congress," House, Second, 1st Session, p. 554; Third, 1st Session, pp. 77-78; Fourth, 1st Session, p. 451; Fourth, 2d Session, p. 691; Seventh, 1st Session, pp. 136, 177. Carpenter, "American Senator," Vol. III, p. 449, etc. *Publications of American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 4, p. 99.

[57] The claims were favorably reported however. See "Papers of the Continental Congress," No. 136, Vol. IV, pp. 411, 591, 643, 647.

[58] "History of Georgia," by Hugh McCall, Savannah, 1816, Vol. 2, p. 266.

[59] B. F. Stevens, "Facsimiles of Manuscripts in European Archives relating to America, 1773-1783, with Descriptions, Editorial Notes, Collations, References and Translations," Vol. XXIII, Nos. 1946-2023, London, 1889-1898.

of Savannah, said to be thoroughly acquainted with the neighborhood of Savannah for a distance of 15 miles, and with all the roads and dwellings, is able to guide any party even through the woods. He says that the house of Mr. Morel at the Bioulay is the best place for landing on account of the facilities for forming any number of troops."

The document also recites "that Mr. Sheftall Levy a native of Savannah is of the same opinion." An extended detail of the plan arranged for the French by these two gentlemen is also set forth.[60]

This interesting French document concludes with the statement that "the two gentlemen Philip Minis and Sheftall Levi will conduct the force of men whenever ordered to do so." [61]

Several Jews also served with the patriots and the French auxiliaries before Savannah. A document is still extant which recites how Major Nones "in the disastrous affair at Savannah shared the hardships of that sanguinary day." [62] The Nones family also possess a testimonial signed by Captain Verdier of Pulaski's staff which contains the following statement: "Benjamin Nones has served as a volunteer in my Company during the campaign of this year, at the siege of Savannah in Georgia. His behavior under fire in all the bloody actions we fought have been marked by the bravery and courage which a military man is expected to show for the liberties of his country and which acts of said Nones gained in his favor the esteem of General Pulaski as well as that of all the officers who witnessed his daring conduct." [63]

It is more than likely, too, that Jacob De Leon, Emanuel

[60] *Ibid.*

[61] *Ibid.*

[62] See "A Political Document of the Year 1800," by Dr. Cyrus Adler in *Publications of Jewish Historical Society*, No. 1, p. 112.

[63] "The Hebrews in America," by Isaac Markens, p. 127. Also Morais, "Jews of Philadelphia," pp. 25, 26.

and Jacob De La Motta who also served under Pulaski were present at the siege of Savannah.[64]

In 1780 the British passed their famous disqualifying act which recites, That

"Whereas, a most audacious, wicked and unprovoked rebellion was lately raised and carried on against His Majesty in the Province of Georgia, and several persons concerned therein, in a most violent, hostile and unlawful manner, usurped the government thereof and erected themselves into a pretended, independent State, where they exercised many acts of violence and oppression in contempt of His Majesty; and

"Whereas, the several persons hereinafter named were active and concerned in said unlawful proceedings, the said persons are disqualified from holding office,"[65] etc.

About 150 names appear in the disqualifying act which contains the names of all the most prominent patriots of Georgia. I shall here mention a few of these as they seem to be arranged in order of importance. They are John Houston, Rebel Governor; Lachlin MacIntosh, Rebel General; George Walton, Member of Rebel Congress; Noble Wymberly Jones, Speaker of Rebel Assembly. Near the head of the list is found "Mordecai Sheftall, Chairman of Rebel Parochial Committee," and further down Levi Sheftall, Philip Jacob Cohen, Sheftall Sheftall, rebel officer; Philip Minis, Cushman Pollock.[66]

At this period the patriot cause seems to have been well nigh lost in Georgia.

In the pension rolls published in 1818 the following apparently Jewish names appear as Revolutionary pensioners:

[64] "The American Jew as Patriot, Soldier & Citizen," by Hon. Simon Wolf., p. 51. Also Markens' "Hebrews in America."

[65] White's "Historical Collections, etc.," p. 98, etc.

[66] *Ibid.*, pp. 98, 102, 104.

David Sarzedas, Lieut. Georgia Continental Line;[67] Joseph Davidson,[68] Levi Philips,[69] Sheftall Sheftall,[70] Wm. Aaron[71] and Joshua Pharaoh.[72]

In 1777 when the first Constitution was adopted, a most narrow view prevailed, the Constitution providing that all persons who were elected to office should be Protestants.[73]

Before proceeding a curious fact must be noted in order to prevent misapprehension in research in Georgia history.

Before Savannah again came into the hands of the Americans and while the Assembly was convened at Augusta, it passed a sweeping act of attainder in May, 1782. This act was a most ridiculous performance, for, in their blind zeal to punish those who were hostile to the cause, the Assembly included many of the most prominent patriots in the colony.[74]

To quote Smith's "History of Georgia," "Without giving the accused a hearing and merely because of a rumor that they had not been true to the American cause, many were sentenced to confiscation and banishment.[75]

"Many innocent persons were included in it, and for several years following there were numerous acts passed for the relief of those involved. There were, however, many acts of great hardship and injustice."[76]

One of the provisions of this act was especially severe; it confiscated the property of those mentioned and provided

[67] "Report of the Secretary of War," Washington, 1835, Vol. 13, p. 15. S. C. Pension Roll.

[68] *Ibid.*, Georgia, p. 26.

[69] *Ibid.*, p. 34.

[70] *Ibid.*, p. 34.

[71] *Ibid.*, p. 37.

[72] *Ibid.*, p. 55.

[73] "The Story of Georgia and the Georgia People," by George Gilman Smith, D. D., Macon, 1900, p. 87.

[74] "The Story of Georgia, etc.," by G. G. Smith, p. 102.

[75] *Ibid.*

[76] *Ibid.*

that "any who shall wilfully or intentionally conceal any part of the personal property hereinbefore confiscated or prevent the commissioners from disposing of the same shall be guilty of a felony and on conviction thereof shall suffer death." [77]

To make this performance all the more ridiculous many of the names had also been proscribed by the British, thus, Sir Patrick Houston and John Martin had been attainted by the British as rebels,[78] and then by this act, as Loyalists.[79]

As Smith says, "The same was true of sundry others, and many of those found on this list aspersed as Tories were found afterward to be leading men in the counsels of the State." [79a] This was certainly true in Martin's case who was dreaded as the enemy of the British and subsequently became Governor of the State. Special acts were passed for the relief of those mentioned.[80]

The act referred to attaints several hundred persons and among these are found the names of Isaac De Leon, and Levi Sheftall; [80a] the latter it will be remembered was the brother of Mordecai Sheftall and had been named in the disqualifying act passed by the British as well.

Both those mentioned, however, may have been in the class referred to by Smith. For in 1785 there appears a special act, passed by the Legislature of Georgia for their relief and Levi Sheftall, Isaac De Lyon and also a David Leion were

[77] "Digest of the Laws of the State of Georgia," Savannah, 1802, p. 84.

[78] "The Story of Georgia, etc.," p. 102.

[79] *Ibid.* John Martin subsequently became Governor of the State of Georgia.

[79a] Smith's "The Story of Georgia, etc.," pp. 102, 103.

[80] *Ibid.*

[80a] *Ibid.* See "Digest of the Laws of the State of Georgia," 1802, p. 83.

restored to citizenship.[81] In 1787 a second act was passed for the further relief of Levi Sheftall.[82]

By 1782 many of the patriots had gone to Philadelphia then the refuge for those who had incurred the enmity of the British, and among the founders of the "Congregation of the Revolution" as the Philadelphia Congregation may well be styled, may be found a few names of Georgia patriots. These are Abraham Seixas, Cushman Pollak, Mordecai Sheftall, Sheftall Sheftall, Major Nones, and Jacob Cohen.[83]

But these gentlemen seemed to have remained in Philadelphia for a short time only. They returned to Georgia within a year.

After the close of the war the State of Georgia became possessed of considerable land and rewarded with grants many of those who had been faithful to the cause of independence, and had rendered valuable military service.[83a]

Among others so rewarded may be found the names of Lewis Solomon,[83b] N. Lazarus, Samuel Sampson, Mordecai Sheftall, and Sheftall Sheftall.[84]

Just before the treaty of peace was signed many of the Jews returned to their State,[84a] while others came from various parts. By 1786 Jews were again in sufficient numbers to re-establish the Congregation. Philip Minis was chosen Parnass, David N. Cardozo who had served in the South Carolina Line, Levi Sheftall, Cushman Pollak, Joseph Abrahams, Abraham

[81] *Ibid.*, p. 78.

[82] *Ibid.*, p. 103. See also "The Revolutionary Records of the State of Georgia" (Atlanta, 1908), Vol. I, pp. 612, 614, 617.

[83] See Morais, "Jews of Philadelphia." Comp. "Westcott's History of the Test Laws of Pennsylvania," Philadelphia, 1865.

[83a] White's "Historical Collections, etc.," p. 112. Smith's "Story of Georgia, etc.," p. 113.

[83b] *Ibid.*, p. 629.

[84] White's "Historical Collections, etc.," p. 112.

[84a] See article in *Occident*, Vol. 1, p. 486, etc.

De Pas and Emanuel De La Motta were among the prime movers for that purpose,[85] and it is interesting to note that most of those who were foremost in re-establishing the Congregation, had fought for the patriot cause.

Miss Adelaide Wilson in her interesting sketch of Savannah tells us that "Of all the various creeds represented in Savannah, to the Hebrew Congregation alone belongs the honor of having addressed a letter of congratulation to Washington on his accession to the Presidency."[86] This letter together with Washington's reply have been published in the proceedings of this Society and I will therefore refrain from making further mention of them.

In what esteem the Jews were held by their Christian fellow-citizens may be shown by a curious incident occurring in 1790. The grave of the mother of Benjamin Sheftall lay within the woody region of the site of the present Independent Presbyterian Church. In appreciation of the valuable services of Benjamin Sheftall the width of South Broad Street, we are informed, was extended so as to include within its space the unmarked place of burial of his mother.[87] Some of the original settlers of the colony lived, like Oglethorpe, to see the colony an independent commonwealth. Among these may be mentioned Daniel Nunez who died in 1789 and Moses Nunez who died in 1787.[88]

[85] *Ibid.* Comp. Markens' "Hebrews in America."

[86] See also "Historic and Picturesque Savannah," p. 95. The latter together with Washington's reply was published in *Publications of American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 3, p. 88 f.

[87] "Historic and Picturesque Savannah," by Adelaide Wilson, p. 89, etc. It may be interesting to note here that the Jewish Burial Ground was the first to be enclosed within Savannah, a fact which was favorably commented upon and finally influenced the Gentiles of Savannah to make a similar inclosure.

[88] *Ibid.*, p. 89. See paper by the present writer in *Jewish Comment*, 1901.

In reviewing the history of the Jews of Georgia, we must constantly bear in mind the paucity of their numbers and the prominent positions occupied by them. The Jews of the South generally were heart and soul in the cause of independence and their conduct fully warranted the remarks of Mr. Worthington when, speaking in favor of the Jew Bill in Maryland, in 1828, he stated that "There were many valuable Jewish members, officers principally in the Revolution, from the South chiefly, and these were ever at their post and always foremost in hazardous enterprises." [89]

[89] Address of Mr. Worthington on the Maryland Jew Bill, 1828. Immediately after the Revolution Georgia had considerable trouble with the Indians and Savannah was much exercised with fears of uprisings among the savages. Lieut. Benjamin Sheftall is prominently mentioned in this connection as commander of the militia for the defense of the town. See "Historic and Picturesque Savannah," pp. 81, 82, etc. (1787-9).

LINCOLN AND THE JEWS.

By Isaac Markens.

Since the name of Abraham Lincoln has been linked with no stirring event in connection with American Judaism it follows that the subject "Lincoln and the Jews," may possibly be lacking in the essentials demanding treatment at the hands of the critical historian. Nevertheless, as a student of the great war President the writer has been impressed by the vast amount of interesting material bearing upon his relations to the Jews, which it occurs to him is worthy of compilation and preservation. A contribution of this character seems specially fitting at the present time in view of the centenary of the one whose gaunt figure towers above all others in the galaxy of American heroes—"the first of our countrymen to reach the lonely heights of immortal fame."

The Jews of the United States formed but a small portion of the population in Lincoln's time. The President of the Board of Delegates of American Israelites, their representative organization, estimated their number in the loyal States near the close of 1861 at not less than 200,000, which figures are now regarded as excessive. The Rev. Isaac Leeser as late as 1865 could not figure the entire Jewish population of the United States as exceeding 200,000, although he admitted that double that number had been estimated by others.

Political sentiment was then divided and found expression largely through the *Occident,* a monthly, published by Rev. Isaac Leeser in Philadelphia; the *Jewish Messenger,* a weekly, conducted by Rev. Samuel M. Isaacs in New York, and the *Israelite,* a weekly, edited by Rev. Isaac M. Wise in Cincinnati. Rabbis and laymen of learning and eloquence were

conspicuous in the political arena, both by voice and pen and to some of these we shall refer. Arrayed with the party represented by Lincoln was Rabbi David Einhorn, who published in Baltimore a German monthly called *Sinai,* devoted to the anti-slavery movement. Rabbi Isaacs unreservedly favored the preservation of the Union and the policy of Lincoln. In Philadelphia Rabbi Sabato Morais proved such a potential factor in rousing patriotic sentiment that he was elected an honorary member of the Union League Club of that city. Rabbi Liebman Adler of Chicago, besides patriotic appeals to his countrymen, sent his only son to serve in the ranks of an Illinois regiment. Dr. Abraham B. Arnold of Baltimore, arrayed himself with the Republican party on the election of Lincoln and was made a member of the State Executive Committee of Maryland. A former Assistant United States District Attorney of New York, Philip J. Joachimsen, who had secured the first conviction for slave trading, was a warm admirer of Lincoln and raised a regiment of troops which rendered good service.

The pro-slavery faction, by no means insignificant in numbers, had few leaders, their most earnest advocate being Rabbi Morris J. Raphall, of New York, author of *Post-Biblical History of the Jews.* In a pamphlet entitled *Bible View of Slavery,* published shortly after Lincoln's election, he sought to show that the "Divine Institution" had Scriptural sanction, a proposition by no means original, Rev. Leander Ker of Missouri having taken the same ground as early as 1853 in a book, *Slavery Sanctioned by the Bible.* Mr. Leeser, while sustaining Raphall, deplored his utterances as untimely, and Michael Heilprin in an article in the *New York Tribune* completely demonstrated the fallacy of Raphall's contention.

Writing from Philadelphia to the *Israelite* on January 13, 1861, Rabbi Wise said it was "not so much the election of Lincoln in itself that threatened the destruction of the Union as the speeches of Lincoln and his colleagues on the irre-

pressible conflict doctrine." This was coupled with a tribute to President Buchanan, the then occupant of the White House, who from Rabbi Wise's standpoint "has shown himself to be a full statesman and only now are the North appreciating his conservative administration." While deprecating the threatened dissolution of the Union Rabbi Wise indulged in frequent humorous flings at Lincoln after his election, comparing him to "a country squire who would look queer in the White House with his primitive manner." He also protested against his entertainment while passing through Cincinnati on his way to Washington. Later on his admiration for Lincoln was unbounded. In the course of an address following the President's death and published in the Cincinnati *Commercial* of April 20, 1865, he thus attempted to prove that he was one of the chosen people: "Abraham Lincoln believed himself to be bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh. He supposed himself to be of Hebrew parentage, *he said so in my presence,* and indeed he possessed the common features of the Hebrew race both in countenance and features." As a matter of fact Lincoln's knowledge of his ancestry was vague—so much so that his statement to Dr. Wise must be accepted as nothing more than a bit of pleasantry. Hon. Robert T. Lincoln states in reply to an inquiry of the writer, that he had "never before heard that his father supposed he had any Jewish ancestry."

Lincoln's policy was severely attacked in the California State Convention of the Breckinridge party held at Sacramento on June 11, 1861, by Solomon Heydenfeldt, a brilliant jurist of that State and a native of South Carolina. An example of his attitude appears in the published proceedings of that convention, wherein he refers in the course of the debates to "the Democrats of the Eastern States struggling against the tyranny of the administration, their voices being drowned by the music of Lincoln's drums." See the paper by

Albert M. Friedenberg, in *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society,* No. 10, pp. 137, 138 (1902).

President Lincoln's administration was marked by a few noteworthy incidents affecting the Jews as a body, the most important being the appointment of a Jewish chaplain in 1861-62, and the proposed expulsion of the Jews "as a class" from within the lines of General Grant's army in 1862-63. Here it may be proper to note that the President on two occasions was sharply reproved by the Jews for the objectionable phraseology of his State papers.

In his first inaugural orders he declared:

> **Intelligence, patriotism, Christianity, and a firm reliance on Him who has never yet forsaken this favored land are still competent to adjust in the best way our present difficulty.**

In his "General Order Respecting the Observation of the Sabbath Day in the Army and Navy," issued November 15, 1862, he announced:

> **The importance for man and beast of the prescribed weekly rest, the sacred rights of Christian soldiers and sailors, a becoming deference to the best sentiments of a Christian people, and a due regard for the Divine will demand that Sunday labor in the Army and Navy be reduced to the measure of strict necessity.**

This order provoked more or less public discussion and elicited a lengthy address to the President from one B. Behrend, of Narrowsburg, N. Y., the father of a Jewish soldier in the service, on the ground that "thousands in the army who celebrate another day as Sunday should be allowed to celebrate that day which they think is the right day according to their own consciences." The *Occident* shared in these views and urged that Jewish soldiers should be free from unnecessary work on their Sabbath. While the alleged sectarian character of these compositions subjected the President to considerable criticism, his utterances were soon lost sight of in the more stirring events of the day.

In the United States Senate May 22, 1860, Judah P. Benja-

min spoke in scathing terms of Stephen A. Douglas and lauded Lincoln, the question under consideration being certain measures introduced by Jefferson Davis on the subject of State Rights and Slavery. Benjamin's address on this occasion occupies several pages of the *Congressional Globe, 1859-60,* Part III. The Senator from Louisiana therein charged Douglas with inconsistency and evasion in his debates with Lincoln, referred to his Jonesboro address as "nonsense" and says Douglas copied from Lincoln's dispute with him. Lincoln had just been nominated for the Presidency. The nomination of Douglas was still in the balance. How far he had lost caste with the Southern leaders is evidenced by this excoriation by Benjamin:

I have been obliged to pluck down my idol from his place on high, and to refuse him any more support or confidence as a member of the Democratic party. His adversary stood upon principle and was beaten, and lo! he is a candidate of a mighty party for the Presidency of the United States. One stood on principle—was defeated. To-day where stands he? The other faltered—received the prize, but to-day where stands he? He is a fallen star; we have separated from him.

Referring further to the joint debates and more especially to Lincoln's declarations at Freeport in reply to interrogations of Douglas, regarding his position in the slavery question, he further complimented Lincoln in these words:

In that contest, the candidates for the Senate of the United States in the State of Illinois went before the people. They agreed to discuss the issue; they put questions to each other for answer, and I must say here, for I must be just to all, that I have been surprised in the examination that I have made again within the last few days of this discussion between Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Douglas, to find that Mr. Lincoln is a far more conservative man, unless he has since changed his opinions, than I had supposed him to be. There was no dodging on his part. It is impossible not to admire the perfect candor and frankness with which his answers are given—no equivocation, no evasion.

The Appointment of a Jewish Army Chaplain.

The Jewish Chaplain question was a matter of some significance and grew out of the refusal of Secretary of War Simon Cameron in the fall of 1861 to grant the application of Rev. Dr. Arnold Fischel for appointment as Chaplain of the Cameron Dragoons, a New York regiment largely composed of Jews, Fischel being informed by Cameron that favorable consideration of his application was impossible on account of an Act passed by Congress a few months previous and duly approved by the President, which provided that "chaplains must be regular ordained ministers of some Christian denomination."

This barrier to the appointment of a Chaplain gave rise to a widespread agitation in which many prominent men took part, including Lewis N. Dembitz, of Louisville, who had voted for Lincoln in the Republican National Convention of 1860; Alfred T. Jones, of Philadelphia; Joseph Abrahams, of Cincinnati; Jacob Kantrowitz, of Columbus, Ind.; Felix Deutsch, of Franklin, Ind.; E. Fleischmann, of Iowa City; Martin Bijur, of Louisville; S. Rosenthal, of Albany, N. Y., and Rev. B. H. Gotthelf, of Louisville. They demanded that the Act of Congress be made to conform with their plain constitutional rights, "those rights" they urged "for which the bones of many of our brethren in faith are now mouldering on the banks of the Potomac." The New York *Journal of Commerce* and Baltimore *Clipper* sided with the Jews.

At this juncture the Board of Delegates of American Israelites took up the matter and through Senator Ira Harris and Representative Frederick Conkling, both of New York, petitioned Congress, protesting that the existing Act was "prejudicial discrimination against a patriotic class of citizens on account of their religious belief" and demanding its repeal. At the same time they addressed the President urging the appointment of a Jewish Chaplain to each of the military

departments. This the President was unable to do, declaring his intention, however, to recommend Congress to modify the law as it stood. Dr. Fischel spent some time in Washington endeavoring to secure the repeal of the objectionable law.

On December 11, 1861, he reported to the Board of Delegates the result of his efforts thus far. This is printed in the article, "A Jewish Army Chaplain," by Myer S. Isaacs, *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society,* No. 12, 1904.

On the following day Dr. Fischel again called at the White House in accordance with the President's invitation but failed to see him. On December 14, 1861, the President wrote to Dr. Fischel:

EXECUTIVE MANSION, December 14, 1861.

Rev. Dr. A. Fischel.

MY DEAR SIR: I find that there are several particulars in which the present law in regard to Chaplains is supposed to be deficient, all of which I now design presenting to the appropriate Committee of Congress. I shall try to have a new law broad enough to cover what is desired by you in behalf of the Israelites.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

The proceedings which followed in Congress were without noteworthy incident. Mr. Trumbull of Illinois at the request of Rabbi Isidor Kalisch, of Indianapolis, presented a numerously signed petition in the Senate and J. Friedenreich, of Baltimore, secured 7000 signatures, mostly of Christians to another. Numerous members of the Legislature of Maryland also memorialized Congress urging a change in the existing law. Isaac Leeser of Philadelphia also addressed a letter to the President. Final action by Congress was deferred until March 12, 1862, when the Act was amended so as to authorize the employment of Brigade Chaplains, "one or more of which shall be of the Catholic, Protestant or Jewish religion." Meanwhile Dr. Fischel conducted services for the Jewish Hospital in Virginia until April, 1862. Subsequently the President

appointed as Hospital Chaplains Rev. Jacob Frankel, of Philadelphia; Rev. B. H. Gotthelf, of Louisville, and Dr. Ferdinand Sarner of the 54th New York Infantry. Dr. Sabato Morais, of Philadelphia, had previously declined an appointment as Chaplain.

Dr. Kalisch, in the third year of the war, aspired to a chaplaincy, his sponsor being Adolph Dessar, a prominent citizen of Indianapolis, and a close friend of John P. Usher, Secretary of the Interior in Lincoln's cabinet. Mr. Usher's efforts were unavailing as appears from the following letter:

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
WASHINGTON, October 16, 1863.

Ad. Dessar, Esq.

DEAR SIR: I made inquiry of the President to-day respecting the appointment of Post Chaplain, and was advised by him that the public service did not at present require the appointment of any more; but that if occasion should happen requiring the appointment of additional chaplains he should be happy to consider, with the many other applications, the claims of your friend, Rev. Mr. Isidore Kalish.

Very truly yours,
J. P. USHER.

GENERAL GRANT'S ORDER NO. ELEVEN.

The edict of General Grant, known as Order No. 11, excluding the Jews, as a class, from within the lines of his army naturally aroused a storm of indignation. Grant's first manifesto appeared at Lagrange, Tenn., on November 9, 1862. The language of Grant's several orders is to be found in the article by Joseph Lebowich, p. 71 *et seq.*, to which the reader is referred.

The following day Grant wrote General Webster, and he next figures in a lengthy report dated December 17, addressed to Assistant Secretary of War Wolcott. The same day he issued the general order which proved the *coup de grace* of his fulminations.

Cincinnati and Paducah became the storm centres of the

Jewish uprisings mainly by reason of their proximity to Grant's field of operations, and the agitation eventually extended to the halls of Congress. Rabbi Wise, in the *Israelite,* demanded the recall of the order on the ground that "the President had an oath registered in Heaven to enforce the laws," and he urged that justice should be demanded from the chief magistrate of the country. Capt. Ferdinand Levy, of Company H, Battalion New York Volunteers, wrote to *The Jewish Messenger* urging that the President compel General Grant to apologize or dismiss him from the service.

While the Jews of Cincinnati, under the lead of Rabbi I. M. Wise were devising means to reach the President, their co-religionists at Paducah were equally active. After several conferences they transmitted the following appeal to the President, the signers being among the leading merchants of the town.

PADUCAH, KY., Dec. 29, 1862.

Hon. Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States.

General Order No. 11 issued by General Grant at Oxford, Miss., December the 17th, commands all post commanders to expel all Jews without distinction within twenty-four hours from his entire Department. The undersigned good and loyal citizens of the United States and residents of this town, for many years engaged in legitimate business as merchants, feel greatly insulted and outraged by this inhuman order; the carrying out of which would be the grossest violation of the Constitution and our rights as good citizens under it, and would place us, besides a large number of other Jewish families of this town, as outlaws before the world. We respectfully ask your immediate attention to this enormous outrage on all law and humanity and pray for your effectual and immediate interposition. We would especially refer you to the post commander and post adjutant as to our loyalty, and to all respectable citizens of this community as to our standing as citizens and merchants. We respectfully ask for immediate instructions to be sent to the Commander of this Post.

D. WOLFF & BROS.
C. F. KASKEL.
J. W. KASKEL.

It was determined to send a representative of the Jewish community to Washington to communicate with the President in person, and for that purpose Cesar Kaskel, one of the signers of the appeal, and a vice-president of the Paducah Union League Club, was selected.

Cesar Kaskel was a native of Prussia, in his thirtieth year, and one of the most respected merchants of the town. J. W. Kaskel, another signer of the appeal, was his brother. A record of the Paducah proceedings was preserved by the latter, now living at Bensonhurst, Brooklyn, N. Y., from which we learn that Cesar Kaskel at once left Paducah by steamer for Cairo. While en route he prepared a full account of the affair which on reaching Cairo was furnished to the agent of the Associated Press, this being the first newspaper report given to the country.

Kaskel, says the *Israelite,* took with him letters from Rabbi Max Lilienthal, and Daniel Wolf, a prominent Cincinnati merchant, to influential parties in Washington and arrived at the National Capital on the evening of January 3, 1863. Accompanied by Representative Gurley of Ohio the two at once sought an audience with the President, reaching the White House at about dusk. Announcing their presence, with an apology for calling at such an hour, the President sent word that he was "always glad to see his friends," and shortly made his appearance. On learning the object of their visit he remarked:

And so the children of Israel were driven from the happy land of Canaan?

Yes, replied Kaskel, and that is why we have come unto Father Abraham's bosom, asking protection.

And this protection they shall have at once, said Lincoln.

Then seating himself at a table the President penned an order to General Halleck requesting his visitors to deliver it at once.

"You may leave for home at once if you wish," said General

Halleck to Kaskel on reading Lincoln's instructions, "and before you reach there Grant's order will have been revoked."

Kaskel that same night started back to Paducah, and arriving there was surprised to learn that the order of revocation had not yet been promulgated.

"By whose orders do you return?" demanded the Post Commander, on learning of Kaskel's presence in town.

"By order of the President of the United States," replied Kaskel.

Halleck's instructions to Grant, it appears, had been delayed in transmission and the latter's revocation was not issued until January 7, 1863. Two weeks later, January 21, Halleck wrote to Grant:

> The President has no objection to your expelling traitors and Jew peddlers which I suppose was the object of your order, but as it in terms proscribed an entire religious class, some of whom are fighting in our ranks, the President deems it necessary to revoke it.

Dr. Wise is authority for the statement that Halleck would not believe in the existence of Grant's order until Kaskel showed him the official copy.

Before the result of Kaskel's mission became known Rabbis Wise and Lilienthal, accompanied by Edgar M. Johnson, a lawyer of Cincinnati, Martin Bijur, a lawyer of Louisville, and Abraham Goldsmith, a merchant of Paducah, had gone to Washington. Learning of Kaskel's success on the way they determined nevertheless to complete the journey in order to express their thanks to the President for his prompt action. Rabbi Wise, in the *Israelite*, gave an interesting account of their interview.

> We went to the White House in our traveling habiliments and spoke about half an hour to the President of the United States in an open and frank manner and were dismissed in the same simple style. Having expressed our thanks for his promptness and despatch in revoking Grant's order the President gave utterance

to his surprise that such an order should have been issued. "I don't like to see a class or nationality condemned on account of a few sinners," he said. The President fully convinced us that he knows of no distinction between Jews and Gentiles and that he feels no prejudice against any nationality and especially against the Israelites. We had little chance to say anything, the President being so splendidly eloquent on this occasion. He spoke like a simple, plain citizen and tried in various forms to convince us of the sincerity of his words on this matter.

Pending a settlement of the matter, Representative George H. Pendleton, of Ohio, who the following year figured as the running mate of George B. McClellan, Lincoln's rival for the Presidency, introduced a resolution in the House of Representatives condemning Grant's action "as well as that of the President as commander-in-chief of the Amy and Navy," which was laid on the table. Unmindful of the success of Kaskel's mission, Mr. Powell, of Kentucky, offered a resolution in the Senate on January 5, 1863, condemning Grant's order as "illegal, tyrannical, cruel and unjust;" but inasmuch as the order had been revoked, objection was raised to its consideration, and Senators Hale, of New Hampshire and Sumner, of Massachusetts urged that the resolution be tabled.

Mr. Powell, according to the *Congressional Globe,* then addressed the Senate. He had in his possession, he said, documents that would go to establish the fact beyond the possibility of a doubt that some thirty Jewish gentlemen, residents of Paducah, were driven from their homes and their business by virtue of this order of General Grant. They had only the short notice of four and twenty hours. The Jewish women and children of the city were expelled under that order. Not a Jew, man, woman or child was left, except two women who were prostrate on beds of sickness.

If we tamely submit to allow the military power thus to encroach on the rights of the citizens who shall be setting a bad and most pernicious example to those in command of our Army.

He urged the passage of the resolution. It would be of the greatest importance particularly at that time when the constitutional rights of the citizens were being trodden under foot by the executive and military power.

General Grant might just as well expel the Baptists or the Methodists or the Episcopalians or the Catholics as a class, as to expel the Jews. All are alike protected in the enjoyment of their religion by the Constitution of our country. They are inoffensive citizens and it was set forth in papers that he had before him that two of the Jews that were expelled had served three months in the Army of the United States in defence of the Union cause. It may be that some Jews in General Grant's department had been guilty of illegal traffic, if so expel those who violate the law and punish them.

Mr. Clark, of New Hampshire, moved that the resolution be indefinitely postponed, believing that it would be unwise to condemn General Grant unheard. Mr. Anthony, of Kansas, suggested that a better disposition would be to refer it to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. Wilson, of Massachusetts, followed. He declared that no man in the Senate approved Grant's order, that as soon as it was called to the attention of the President of the United States it was promptly revoked, and there the matter ended. He agreed with Mr. Clark, that Grant should not be condemned unheard. He considered the order unwise, unjust and utterly indefensible; but the rights of these people having been promptly vindicated he hoped the matter would be dropped. Senator Hale then moved to lay Mr. Powell's resolution on the table and this was done by a vote of 30 to 7, thus disposing of further Congressional action.

Two Cincinnati newspapers, the *Enquirer* and the *Volksfreund,* were outspoken in condemnation of Grant. The Philadelphia *Ledger* opened its columns to persons who severely censured Grant, while the *Inquirer* of the same city declined to publish articles derogatory of the Federal Commander. John W. Forney, Secretary of the United States Senate, and

editor of the *Washington Chronicle,* defended General Grant, saying:

If there was no good reason, there was at least some excuse for the promulgation of the order.

The *Occident* commended the President's action:

Fortunately he would not be the instrument of such a cruel order and the majority in Congress deserve the condemnation due them for disregard of their obligations as conservators of the rights of the people, which ought to be safe under the guarantees of the Constitution.

The Board of Delegates of American Israelites adopted resolutions thanking Halleck for revoking Grant's order "in the name of the Hebrews of this country." Dr. Wise vehemently protested against this, describing the resolution as "a species of insanity," as "Halleck only carried out the order of the President who deserves thanks for his promptness in the affair."

Did Grant issue his obnoxious edict of his own volition, or at the behest of higher authority? The *Cincinnati Commercial,* after the affair was over, published a communication intimating that Grant had acted on orders from Washington. The *Israelite* was of the opinion that such an order could have come only from Stanton or Chase, since the President and Halleck absolutely maintained that they knew nothing of it until seventeen days after it was issued.

General Grant, in his *Personal Memoirs,* makes no reference to Order No. 11. An explanation of his silence may be found in the following letter dated Governors Island, N. Y., December 8, 1907, and addressed to the writer.

In reply to your letter of Nov. 23d I write to say that when my father was writing his memoirs I asked if he would refer to the order No. 11—about which you enquire in your letter, and he replied that that was a matter long past and best not referred to, therefore, I shall, following his example, have nothing to say about that order.

Yours very sincerely,

FREDERICK D. GRANT.

Nicolay and Hay dismiss the subject in these few words:

Lincoln had a profound respect for every form of sincere religious belief. He steadily refused to show favor to any particular denomination of Christians, and when General Grant issued an unjust and injurious order against the Jews expelling them from his Department, the President ordered it to be revoked the moment it was brought to his notice.

As further bearing upon Cesar Kaskel's activity in this matter it may be stated that the Washington press despatches gave him full credit for the repeal of the order. He died in Wiesbaden, Germany, March 30, 1892.

Lincoln's Jewish Friends.

The name of Abraham Jonas, a leading lawyer, politician, and public speaker of Illinois, is indissolubly associated with that of Abraham Lincoln, the two having enjoyed very intimate relations, dating, it is believed, from about the birth of the Whig party in 1834 and continuing up to the death of Jonas in 1864.

Of the antecedents of Abraham Jonas, we learn that he was one of twenty-two children of Annie Ezekiel and Benjamin Jonas, of Exeter, England, where he was born in 1801. He arrived in Cincinnati, in 1819, two years after his brother Joseph, the first Jew to settle in that city, and engaged in the auction business with his brother-in-law, Morris Moses. He was twice married, his first wife being Lucia Orah, daughter of Rev. Gershom Mendes Seixas, of New York, who died in 1825. In 1829 he married Louisa Block, of Virginia. He was one of the incorporators of the first synagogue in Cincinnati, in 1829, and his name appears in a conveyance recorded in 1821, as one of the purchasers of a small plot of ground for a Jewish cemetery from Nicholas Longworth, great-grandfather of the present Ohio Congressman of that name, the son-in-law of President Theodore Roosevelt.

Jonas moved to Williamstown, Grant County, Ky., before his marriage to Miss Block, and served in the State legisla-

ture of Kentucky in 1828, 1829, 1830, and 1833. He was elected Grand Master of Masons of Kentucky in August, 1833, and his portrait as such adorns the walls of the Grand Lodge room in Louisville. He settled in Illinois in 1838 and was elected to the legislature in 1842. He became the first Grand Master of Masons of that State in 1839. A tablet in his honor was placed in the hall of the Grand Lodge of Illinois on the announcement of his death in 1864 and the Grand Lodge at their semi-centennial in 1889 had a bronze medal struck which bears his name.

Jonas, with Lincoln, was chosen by the Illinois State Convention held at Bloomington on May 29, 1856, a Presidential elector on the Fremont ticket. He was engaged in mercantile pursuits up to the year 1843. Meanwhile he had studied law and was admitted in that year to the bar in Quincy where he continued to practice with success up to his death in 1864, being associated with Henry Asbury. William A. Richardson, of Quincy, avers that Lincoln, when in that city did much of his work in the office of Jonas & Asbury. The Quincy *Whig,* of October 7, 1858, prints a notice signed by Jonas, as chairman of the Republican committee of arrangements, addressed to the friends of Abraham Lincoln requesting their presence at the debate of Lincoln and Douglas, on October 13, in that city. (See *Collections Illinois State Historical Society,* Vol. III.) The Hon. William H. Collins, of Quincy, a prominent member of the State Historical Society of Illinois, is authority for the statement that Jonas was "an influential leader in the Republican party and likewise a personal friend of Lincoln." The Grand Secretary of the Masonic Grand Lodge of Kentucky also testified to his prominence "in all the positions he occupied."

With the exception of Nicolay and Hay none of the numerous biographers of Lincoln makes mention of Jonas either in connection with Lincoln or his prominence in Illinois politics. These writers give us an interesting letter addressed by Lin-

coln to Jonas after the former's nomination for President in 1860 when the opponents of the Republican nominee were assiduous in reviving accusations of his affiliation with the Know-Nothing party, notwithstanding his repeated statements to the contrary. In this emergency Lincoln turned to his friend Jonas, to whom he addressed the following letter which fully evidences the confidential relations of the two and explains the former's attitude on the Know-Nothing question:

Confidential

July 21, 1860.

Hon. A. Jonas,

My dear Sir: Yours of the 2nd is received. I suppose as good or even better men than I may have been in American or Know-Nothing lodges; but in point of fact I never was in one in Quincy or elsewhere. I was never in Quincy but one day and two nights while Know-Nothing lodges were in existence and you were with me that day and both those nights. I have never been there before in my life and never afterwards, till the joint debate with Douglas in 1858. It was in 1854 when I spoke in some hall there, and after the speaking, you with others took me to an oyster saloon, passed an hour there, and you walked with me to, and parted with me at the Quincy House quite late at night. I left by stage for Naples before daylight in the morning, having come in by the same route after dark the evening previous to the speaking, when I found you waiting at the Quincy House to meet me. A few days after I was there, Richardson, as I understand, started this same story about my having been in a Know-Nothing lodge. When I heard of the charge, as I did soon after, I taxed my recollection for some incident which could have suggested it; and I remember that on parting with you the last night I went to the office of the hotel to take my stage passage for the morning and was told that no stage office for that line was kept there and that I must see the driver before retiring, to insure his calling for me in the morning; and a servant was sent with me to find the driver, who after taking me a square or two, stopped me and stepped perhaps a dozen steps farther, and in my hearing called to some one, who answered him, apparently from the upper part of a building, and promised to call with the stage for me at the Quincy House. I returned and went to bed, and before day the stage called and took me. This is all. That I never was in a

Know-Nothing lodge in Quincy I should expect could be easily proved by respectable men who were always in the lodges and never saw me there. An affidavit of one or two such should put the matter at rest. And now a word of caution. Our adversaries think they can gain a point if they force me to openly deny the charge, by which some degree of offence would be given to the "Americans." For this reason it must not publicly appear that I am paying any attention to the charge.

Yours truly,
A. LINCOLN.

From 1849 to 1852 Jonas served as postmaster at Quincy by appointment of Presidents Taylor and Fillmore. One of Lincoln's earliest appointments was that of his friend Jonas to his former office, his commission being dated April 29, 1861. He discharged the duties of postmaster until the spring of 1864 when he was incapacitated by serious illness. Martin Joseph, then, as now, a resident of Quincy, informs the writer that he visited Jonas frequently during his illness, being personally acquainted with him, and "when the doctors had no hope for his recovery, of which he was aware, his only wish was to see his son Charles H., at that time a prisoner of war, a member of the Twelfth Arkansas Regiment of the Confederate Army. The friends telegraphed to Lincoln to grant him the privilege to go to his dying father and the President being a great friend of Mr. Jonas granted the release and sent word the son was on the way."

This statement of Mr. Joseph varies but slightly from that of Charles H. Jonas, still living in his 77th year. In a letter to the writer dated July 14, 1908, he says:

When during my father's last illness and hope of his recovery had been abandoned, my mother and sister asked Mr. Lincoln to permit me to see him before his death. I was at that time a prisoner of war on Johnson's Island, Lake Erie. President Lincoln granted the request without hesitation, and issued an order to the Commandant at the prison to liberate me on parole to visit my dying father. This was done at once and I reached Quincy on the day of my father's death, but in time to be recognized and welcomed by him.

From the records of the War Department we are enabled to reproduce the President's order above referred to, the same being also quoted by Leslie J. Perry in an article "Appeals to Lincoln's Clemency," in the *Century Magazine,* December, 1895:

Allow Charles H. Jonas now a prisoner of war at Johnson's island a parole of three weeks to visit his dying father, Abraham Jonas, at Quincy, Ills.

June 2nd 1864. **A. Lincoln.**

In connection with this incident it should be said that three other sons of Jonas served in the Confederate army—Benjamin F., in later years United States Senator from Louisiana; Julian, and Samuel Alroy, the latter being known as the author of the poem "Written on the Back of a Confederate Note." A fifth son, Edward, served with distinction as Major of an Illinois regiment. Lincoln's postmaster at Quincy suffered in no wise by the Southern sympathies of his four sons, in fact we have it from Benjamin F. Jonas that "Mr. Lincoln always asked after us when he saw any one from New Orleans during the war."

Further evidence of Lincoln's high opinion of Jonas exists in the shape of an order of the President in the matter of one Thomas Thoroughman of St. Joseph, Mo., arrested for disloyalty in May, 1862, and sent to Quincy, Ill. Appeal being made to Lincoln he directed the Secretary of War "to dispose of the case at the discretion of Abraham Jonas and Henry Asbury, both of Quincy, both of whom I know to be loyal and sensible men." Their report resulted in Thoroughman's parole. This case is also quoted by Leslie J. Perry in the *Century Magazine,* December, 1895. Asbury in 1869 published in the Quincy *Whig* a series of sketches of the bench and bar of Adams County including that of Jonas, to which he refers in his volume *Reminiscences of Quincy,* published in 1882.

On the death of Jonas the President appointed his widow

Louisa Block Jonas to fill his unexpired term as postmaster, the office being meanwhile managed by her daughter Anna Jonas who became the wife of Adolph Meyer, for twenty years Congressman from Louisiana.

Of Jonas' personality we learn from his niece Mrs. Annie J. Moses, of New York. She writes:

> He was tall, of medium weight, rather inclined to leanness than flesh, with black eyes and hair and complexion between dark and fair. His features were very strong, with a serious, intelligent face, which broke into a very pleasant expression when amused. He was a very intellectual man and full of humor and wit; and benevolence was well marked in his countenance.

Of the few Jewish residents of Springfield for several years preceding Lincoln's election to the Presidency, Julius Hammerslough, of the firm of Hammerslough Brothers, enjoyed very friendly relations with Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln. He heard Lincoln's memorable address in Springfield on June 17, 1858, beginning with the words, "If we could first know where we are and whither we are tending, we could better judge what to do and how to do it." Mr. Hammerslough witnessed Lincoln's first inauguration and frequently called to see him at the White House, the President invariably inquiring of Mr. Hammerslough: "How are the boys?"—referring to the brothers in Springfield. One one occasion he escorted Mrs. Ninian Edwards, a sister of Mrs. Lincoln, from Springfield to Washington. He accompanied Lincoln's remains from Chicago to Springfield as one of a committee of citizens of Lincoln's old home chosen for that purpose, and he also provided the plumes for the funeral car used in Springfield. Hammerslough took a very active part in the project for the erection of the Lincoln monument in Springfield, being appointed by the national monument committee special agent to bring the subject to the notice of the Jews. In a stirring appeal for funds dated Springfield, May 30, 1865, he wrote:

It is above all, fitting in this land where the Hebrews have won so proud a name and are so greatly respected and honored that they should thus show their love and veneration for the fallen chief of the nation, whose wisdom, honesty and purity of purpose were so highly appreciated by foreign nations and who was so beloved at home.

Shortly before his death Mr. Hammerslough called the writer's attention to an old and familiar Lincoln story the authenticity of which has long been questioned. Returning to Springfield after several weeks' absence with saddle bags on his arms, Lincoln noticed on nearing his home that an additional story had been added since he left—the work of Mrs. Lincoln and intended as a surprise. Feigning inability to recognize the house he inquired of a passer-by, "Say, Mister, can you tell me where the widow Lincoln lives?" The party thus addressed was Abner Wilkinson, a well-known merchant tailor of Springfield, from whose lips Hammerslough heard the story some years afterwards. This statement of Wilkinson to Hammerslough is interesting, in that it settles the character of at least one of the many Lincoln stories heretofore in the apocryphal class.

In the late 'sixties Mr. Hammerslough moved to New York where he became the founder and first President of the Clothiers Association of New York. On his death, June 18, 1908, the directors of that association formally gave expression to the debt of gratitude due him for the uplifting of the clothing industry. The daily newspapers also noted his intimate acquaintance with Lincoln.

There resided in Jacksonville, Ill., from 1853 to 1861 Henry Rice a merchant born in Germany in 1834 and now a resident of New York. Rice knew Lincoln well. Referring to his acquaintance he told the writer of a visit to Springfield when he met Lincoln bound for the railroad station in quest of Mrs. Lincoln who had been away on a shopping trip "to get some duds" as he put it. Rice told Lincoln it was his

intention, if he would permit it, to furnish his inauguration suit. He thanked Rice, saying he had already accepted a similar offer from the Springfield firm of Wood and Hinkle. Rice had been acting for several months after the breaking out of the war as military store-keeper at Cairo, Ill., and sought a similar appointment embracing the entire district, being backed by John A. Logan and Governor Richard Yates of Illinois. Accompanied by these gentlemen Rice called upon Lincoln at the White House. He found the President at supper and at his invitation the three joined in the repast. Lincoln favored Rice's appointment and endorsed his application to Simon Cameron, Secretary of War. It turned out however, that Cameron had already filled the office. Lincoln, when informed of this, suggested a method by which Rice might yet secure the appointment but the latter allowed the matter to drop.

A characteristic instance of Lincoln's probity is narrated by Mr. Rice, who was a party to the proceeding. Several Cincinnati firms, on learning of the failure of a Decatur, Ill., debtor for a large sum, wrote to Rice at Jacksonville requesting that he recommend a reputable lawyer to protect their interests. Rice suggested Abraham Lincoln of Springfield. Thereupon a committee representing the creditors met Rice at Springfield and the party called upon Lincoln. Much to their chagrin they were told they were "too late"; he had already been retained by the other side. He advised them, however, to consult his fellow-townsman and most bitter political opponent, John A. McClernand, also a lawyer of note, who was later a Major-General in the Union Army. Indisposed to accept a retainer McClernand suggested that the party again see Lincoln, assuring them of his thorough qualification for the work in hand. This flattering endorsement induced Lincoln to yield, the result being a speedy and mutually satisfactory adjustment of the matter at issue.

It was during the Presidential campaign of 1860 that Abraham Kohn, City Clerk of Chicago, first met Lincoln, the acquaintance being formed in the store of Kohn, at that time a merchant. Kohn was a Bavarian, then in his 42d year, a man of excellent education, well versed in Hebrew literature and known and respected as a public-spirited citizen. He had been for several years President of the Hebrew Congregation Anshe Maariv (Men of the West). In politics Kohn was described by the Democratic press as "one of the blackest Republicans and Abolitionists." Kohn's popularity and influence had probably been brought to Lincoln's attention, and the latter, consummate politician as he was, recognized in Kohn, presumably, an ally whose acquaintance would prove a valuable asset in the pending election. Lincoln was introduced by Congressman Isaac N. Arnold who accompanied him and it was this meeting that inspired Kohn with a feeling of admiration for his visitor and a conviction that he was the destined Moses of the slaves and the saviour of his country. Thus says his daughter, Mrs. D. K. Adler, in a letter to the writer. Lincoln in the course of the conversation spoke of the Bible as their book and Kohn, being a devout Jew as well as an ardent patriot, conceived an intense admiration for Lincoln. This found expression in his sending to the President-elect before his departure for Washington a silk flag, the work of his own hands, painted in colors, its folds bearing Hebrew characters exquisitely lettered in black with the third to ninth verses of the first chapter of Joshua, the last verse being:

Have I not commanded thee? Be strong and of good courage; be not afraid neither be thou dismayed; for the Lord thy God is with thee whithersoever thou goest.

This flag is referred to by Admiral George H. Preble in his *History of the Flag of the United States,* published in 1894. The incident being brought to the attention of the late President McKinley, when Governor of Ohio, he thus alluded to it

in the course of a speech delivered at Ottawa, Kansas, on June 20, 1895:

What more beautiful conception than that which Abraham Kohn of Chicago in February, 1861, to send to Mr. Lincoln, on the eve of his starting to Washington, to assume the office of President, a flag of our country, bearing upon its silken folds the words from the first chapter of Joshua. Could anything have given Mr. Lincoln more cheer or been better calculated to sustain his courage or to strengthen his faith in the mighty work before him? Thus commanded, thus assured, Mr. Lincoln journeyed to the Capital, where he took the oath of office and registered in Heaven an oath to save the Union. And the Lord our God was with him, until every obligation of oath and duty was sacredly kept and honored. Not any man was able to stand before him. Liberty was the more firmly enthroned, the Union was saved, and the flag which he carried floated in triumph and glory from every flagstaff of the Republic.

Mr. Lincoln at once wrote to Mr. Kohn thanking him for his gift. His letter was sent through a mutual friend, John Young Scammon, a prominent citizen of Chicago, who delayed its delivery until six months after Lincoln's departure from Springfield, when he wrote to Mr. Kohn as follows:

CHICAGO, August 28, 1861.

Abraham Kohn, Esq.

MY DEAR SIR: The enclosed acknowledgment of the receipt of your beautiful painting of the American flag by the President got among my letters or it would have been sent to you before. Regretting the delay, I am,

Truly your friend,

J. YOUNG SCAMMON.

Mr. Lincoln's letter to Kohn being lost cannot be reproduced. The whereabouts of the flag cannot be traced, although Mrs. Adler states that while in Washington during the administration of President McKinley she made a thorough search for the relic in all the places where it might be preserved but without success. Kohn never met Lincoln after his visit to his store in Chicago. He was one of the citizens appointed by the Mayor to go some distance into Indiana to

meet the train bearing Lincoln's body to that city. He died in Chicago in 1871.

Henry Greenebaum, for many years a banker of Chicago, was an intimate friend of Lincoln and numbered also among his friends Generals U. S. Grant, John A. Logan, James A. Garfield, and Stephen A. Douglas. Born in Hesse-Darmstadt, Germany, in 1833, he reached Chicago in 1849 and in 1855 was elected an Alderman on the Democratic ticket in recognition of his political activity and influence with the voters of that party. John Wentworth, "Long John," being Mayor of Chicago at the time, he invited the Aldermen to a dinner at the Tremont House, Lincoln, a personal friend of Wentworth, being a guest.

On this occasion, Mr. Greenebaum tells the writer, I met Lincoln for the first time and was greatly impressed by his congeniality, by his wealth of humor, and by his remarkable mental endowment. I formed the brightest appreciation of his personality, and whenever he came to Chicago subsequent to that time, I called on him at the Tremont House to pay my respects. On one of these occasions, during his contest with Stephen A. Douglas, for the United States Senatorship, I accompanied Lincoln on a walk during which he asked me for my support. My reply was that I could not do so, that I was a strong political friend of Douglas. Lincoln said he knew this and that he was not in real earnest in asking my support.

Greenebaum was called to Springfield in the month of February, 1861, to attend a hearing before a committee of the State legislature. The night before Lincoln left Springfield, Greenebaum and a large party of legislators and others went to Lincoln's home to bid him good-bye and the President-elect asked all present to come to the depot in the morning to see him off. To quote Mr. Greenebaum:

A large crowd gathered and the dear man made a very solemn and impressive speech—indeed he moved us to tears. With wonderful modesty he expressed his fear of being unable to meet the grave responsibility that awaited him at the White House.

His faith in God gave him courage, he said, and he asked us to pray for him. Taken all in all I consider him the greatest man I ever met. He was a man of very broad views, had no prejudices whatever against any nationalities or classes and many of the most prominent Jews of Illinois supported him for the Presidency.

By reason of his residence and prominence in the city of Washington Adolphus S. Solomons had frequent intercouse with Lincoln. He was a member of the book and publishing firm of Philp and Solomons which for many years was given the government contracts for printing. Mr. Solomons has taken an active part in the inauguration ceremonies of every President from Lincoln to Roosevelt, is still living in the National Capital in his eighty-second year, and is full of reminiscences of Lincoln. At the Lincoln birthday celebration given under the auspices of the Hebrew Educational Society of Brooklyn in 1903 he said:

To me, whose good fortune it was to know Mr. Lincoln when he first came to Washington, and to know him was to love him; it would come with natural impulse to glow over the make up of his remarkable career. All of his inclinations were on the sunny side of life and the beauty spots seen through his hopeful eyes covered many freckles upon the human face divine and made him think well of all his fellow men.

On the same occasion Mr. Solomons related the following reminiscences:

One day while I was in the White House waiting to see the President I found myself in line with fifty others and had to wait my turn. Right in front of me was a tall, stupid-appearing fellow, and I wondered what in the world his mission was. The man said to the President, "I see that you are rather busy today, and I will come in some other time to tell you what a contraband told me"; whereupon the President interrupted him by a slap on the shoulder and with a steady look at his muddy clothing and boots, and looking at his shaggy red hair exclaimed:

"Excepting myself you are the homeliest man I ever set eyes on. But that makes no difference: sit right down and tell me *all*

you know." As he said this Lincoln winked at me over the stranger's shoulder, and added, "And it certainly cannot take you long." Evidently the man did not see the joke, for he told a short story and was soon out of the room.

On another occasion, when I was present, a Mr. Addison, a Federal officer from Baltimore, called upon Lincoln to tender his resignation, whereupon Lincoln said: "All right, Addison, I accept your resignation but nothing can compensate me for the loss of you, for when you retire I will be the ugliest man left in the employ of the Government"—again emphasizing that he thought himself no beauty.

The day that Lincoln issued one of his early war proclamations I chanced to be at the White House with a distinguished New York Rabbi, Dr. Morris J. Raphall, who came to Washington to ask for the promotion of his son Alfred, from a second to a first lieutenancy in the army. The White House was closed for the day when we got there, but upon sending up my card we gained admittance and after Lincoln had heard the Rabbi's request he blurted out, "As God's minister is it not your first duty to be at home today to pray with your people for the success of our arms as is being done in every loyal church throughout the North, East and West?" The Rabbi, evidently ashamed at his *faux pas*, blushing made answer: "My assistant is doing that duty." "Ah," said Lincoln, "that is different." The President then drew forth a small card and wrote the following upon it:

"The Secretary of war will promote Second Lieutenant Raphall to a First Lieutenantcy.

A. Lincoln."

Handing the card to the Rabbi he said, with a smile all his own: "Now doctor, you can go home and do your own praying."

Referring to this interview, in an address on Lincoln at his synagogue B'nai Jeshurun, New York, April 19, 1865, Dr. Raphall said that he had seen the President but once, he had asked him but one favor, but that time he granted it freely, he had granted it lovingly "because he knew the speaker was a Jew—because he knew him to be a true servant of the Lord."

The last photograph of President Lincoln, taken on the Sunday before his assassination, was made in the gallery at-

tached to the Philp and Solomons' establishment in Washington. After Mr. Solomons retired from the business the plates and negatives of the firm passed to Alexander Gardner who was in charge of the portraiture branch and subsequently a partner in the concern. The negative of this portrait, which represents the President in the act of sharpening a pencil for his son "Tad" is now owned by H. M. Whitney of Fort Wayne, Ind.

Joseph Seligman, formerly of the New York banking firm of J. and W. Seligman & Co., had close relations with President Lincoln, by whom he was called to Washington for consultation with himself and Secretary Chase, on matters of finance. Many of the issues of government bonds were placed by the Seligmans in Frankfort and Amsterdam. This action, at a time when the nation's credit was low and its fate uncertain, elicited frequent expressions of commendation from the President. The appointment of General Grant to the supreme command of the army was in a large measure due to Joseph Seligman's influence with Lincoln, as he had known Grant before the war and recognized his fitness for the duties. Mr. Seligman entertained a strong affection for the President, which was fully reciprocated. He was in Frankfort at the time of Lincoln's assassination and his grief in learning the news was poignant. Referring to that event in later years he often declared to his children that not only had a noble man fallen by the hand of an assassin but also that the South had lost its best friend. Mr. Seligman was with others, instrumental in aiding Mrs. Lincoln after the death of her husband, whereby her wants were much alleviated. To his son, Mr. Isaac N. Seligman, of New York, we are indebted for the foregoing details.

Presidential Electors and Delegates.

Two electoral votes were cast for Lincoln by Jews, one in the election of 1860 another in that of 1864. Two Jews

served as delegates in the Republican National Convention of 1860 and one in that of 1864.

Sigismund Kaufmann, a member of the bar and a native of Darmstadt, Germany, was a Republican Presidential elector for the State of New York in 1860. He had taken part in the German revolution of 1848-49, was a man of brilliant parts and was at this period in his thirty-fifth year. Kaufmann was the representative of the German Republican element in the United States. He wrote for the *Staats-Zeitung,* founded the New York *Turn Verein,* and the Legal Aid Society, was President of the German Society of the City of New York, a commissioner of immigration, and a director of the Hebrew Orphan Asylum. At the age of twenty-seven he addressed anti-slavery meetings in the city of New York, speaking one evening in English, German, and French. With his fellow-members of the Electoral College he went to the Astor House to see Mr. Lincoln on his arrival in New York in February, 1861. On being presented Lincoln remarked, "I know enough German to know that Kaufmann means merchant." Then he added, as if to emphasize his linguistic accomplishments, "And Schneider means tailor—am I not a good German scholar?" (See *New York Tribune,* February 21, 1861.)

The President shortly after his inauguration offered Kaufmann the post of Minister to Italy. He declined it on the ground that he could be more useful to his party at home. Kaufmann was an important factor in the distribution of Federal patronage in the State of New York and wielded much influence with the Lincoln administration. He secured for Franz Sigel an appointment as Colonel of a Missouri regiment on the outbreak of the Civil War in response to an urgent appeal from Sigel then at St. Louis asking "What shall I do?" to which Kaufmann replied, "Organize a regiment. I will attend to the rest." Mr. Kaufmann in 1870 was an unsuccessful candidate for Lieutenant-Governor of the

State of New York, Stewart L. Woodford being the nominee for Governor.

The emancipation proclamation Kaufmann regarded as the transcendant act of Lincoln's administration. In the course of an address to the German Republicans in 1879 in opposition to a third term for President Grant he declared:

The proclamation of Abraham Lincoln freeing the slaves was the greatest victory for the Federal cause of the War. It shed no drop of blood, it cost no treasure. Where graves are the monuments of Grant's victories, millions of free men are the trophies Lincoln won.

Kaufmann died in Berlin in 1889, aged 65 years.

In the Presidential campaign of 1864, Abram J. Dittenhoefer was a Presidential elector for the State of New York on the Republican ticket. He was born in South Carolina in 1836 and is a lawyer by profession.

Mr. Dittenhoefer heard Lincoln's Cooper Institute speech in 1859 and was then introduced to him. He did not become intimate with him, however, until after the Presidential election of 1864. Thereafter he called upon the President a number of times at the White House. The President seemed pleased to see his visitor and spent quite a time in conversation, generally about New York politics.

While an air of melancholy seemed always to suffuse his features, says Mr. Dittenhoefer to the writer, he was the most genial of men. I often found him sitting in the business office of the White House having on a black, threadbare, alpaca coat, out at the elbows and in slippers. I could always notice when he was about to indulge in a jest, which he frequently did in the midst of the most serious conversation; a sort of half suppressed smile would appear on that strong face for a brief interval before the jest was given, as if he was anticipating the pleasure it would give in the hearing of it. I remember distinctly presenting to him the ballot I had cast as one of the Presidential electors for him in the New York college of electors. Looking at it a few minutes, he said, "It represents the power and dignity of the American people and the grandeur of American institutions."

In thanking me for giving it to him he said he would leave it to his children as a memento. I saw him in Washington a few days before his death. He seemed then to be in the best of spirits and spoke of the great work that was before him in completing the restoration of harmony and peace between the North and the South.

The friends of Dittenhoefer early during the war, knowing that he was a South Carolinian, filed an application for his appointment as United States Judge of that State. Nothing, he says, was heard of the matter for a year or two, when a Mrs. Carson, a daughter of the only Union man in South Carolina, who had been driven from the State for his loyalty, wrote to him that she had been directed by Lincoln to examine the applications on file and make her recommendation to him. This she did and seeing Dittenhoefer's name among the applicants recommended his appointment, which the President promised to make. Shortly thereafter Dittenhoefer received a letter from one of Lincoln's private secretaries saying that the President was going to nominate him for that judgeship, but his business having meanwhile increased and being unwilling to take up his residence in the South he at once replied that he could not accept the nomination.

Mr. Dittenhoefer was in later life appointed a justice of the City Court of New York. He was a delegate to several Republican National Conventions and acted for twelve years as chairman of the Republican Central Committee of New York City where he now resides. (See *New York Herald,* November 22, 1908.)

In the Republican State Convention held at St. Louis on February 12, 1860, Moritz Pinner, one of its members, was elected a delegate to the National Republican Convention to be held in Chicago the following May. Pinner was a young German of thirty-two engaged in the publication of a German newspaper devoted to the anti-slavery cause. The St. Louis *Republican* of February 13, 1860, gives a detailed ac-

count of the proceedings of this State Convention in which Pinner seems to have been very prominent, being especially active in his efforts to defeat the endorsement of Edward Bates of Missouri for the Presidency. The friends of Bates, constituting a majority in the Missouri Convention, having introduced a resolution instructing the national delegates to vote as a unit for the Presidential nominee, Pinner announced his resignation as a delegate to Chicago, the convention immediately adjourning without taking action thereon, thus leaving him free to attend the National Convention where he further devoted his attention to the prevention of Bates' endorsement by the Illinois delegation. This being accomplished he took no further part in the deliberations of the convention and kept aloof from the Missouri delegation, whose leaders Frank P. Blair and B. Gratz Brown he had antagonized in their efforts to secure the nomination of Bates. The consequence was that he failed to record his vote on either of the three ballots which resulted in the choice of Lincoln.

Pinner's name does not appear on the official roll of Missouri delegates to the convention. This omission he explains to the writer as "spite work" of Gratz Brown for his anti-Bates activity. Pinner favored the nomination of William H. Seward, but now in the light of history is extremely thankful that Lincoln was nominated and elected. While he made no effort to secure Lincoln's nomination he worked earnestly for his election and claims that "by preventing the nomination of Bates he paved the way for Lincoln and made his nomination possible and his election probable."

Pinner informs the writer that he became acquainted with Lincoln in Chicago during the Presidential campaign of 1856 and saw him quite often during the Lincoln-Douglas debates in 1858. After Lincoln's nomination he met him in Springfield and was there introduced to Mrs. Lincoln with whom he had a pleasant chat. He frequently saw the President after his election and was by him offered the mission to Honduras

which he declined, preferring to enter the army. Appointed by General Philip Kearney Brigade Quartermaster on his staff, Secretary Stanton resented Kearney's action, claiming the sole right of such appointments. An appeal to Lincoln followed. The latter's intervention, Pinner says, secured a prompt adjustment of the controversy but not before its consideration by a full cabinet meeting called for that purpose. Pinner's commission followed at once. This document, signed by Lincoln and Stanton, he has shown to the writer. Since the war Pinner has been engaged in real estate enterprises and the study of economic questions. He is now living in Elizabeth, N. J.

In the same convention with Pinner was Lewis N. Dembitz, a delegate from the city of Louisville, Ky., who was born in Prussia in 1833. He was educated abroad and read law at Cincinnati and Madison, Ind. From 1884 to 1888 he was assistant city attorney for Louisville and drafted the first American law establishing the Australian ballot for the Louisville election in 1888. He was a prolific writer, some of his works being: *Kentucky Jurisprudence, Law Language for Short-Hand Writers, Land Titles in the United States* and *Jewish Services in Synagogue and Home.* He also contributed many articles to Jewish periodicals. Dembitz was very proud of having served as a delegate in the convention of 1860 and of voting for Lincoln, whom he much admired but never met, a fact which he always regretted.

Maier Hirsch, a merchant of Salem, Oregon, was one of the six delegates from Oregon to the Republican National Convention of 1864. He came from Hohebach, Württemberg, in 1852, and had lived in Oregon for twelve years, his home being in Salem. He was a brother of Solomon Hirsch, United States Minister to Turkey from 1889 to 1892, and of Edward Hirsch, at one time State Treasurer and later on a State Senator of Oregon. While prominent and influential in the councils of the Republican party in Oregon and fre-

quently asked to stand for the legislature, Hirsch steadily refused the candidacy for any office save that of delegate to the convention of 1864 in which he appeared as an inconspicuous figure taking no part in the proceedings beyond voting with his delegation for Lincoln whom he much admired. He thereafter disappeared from public view, settling in New York City in 1874, where he died two years later at the age of forty-seven.

Demonstrations Following the Assassination.

In the manifestation of the public grief following the death of President Lincoln, which event "arrested the daily concerns of the whole civilized world" the Jews everywhere were prominent. Occurring as it did on the Jewish Sabbath, the first pulpit utterances were heard in the synagogues, the general character of the services therein being thus described by the New York *Times* of April 21, 1865:

> The American flag was half-masted and the banner itself often enshrouded with folds of crape; long festoons of black and white overhanging the entrance doors. The galleries were draped in black and the huge tapers almost concealed beneath the sombre cloths of mourning. In all the synagogues, as on Saturday last, the prayers for the dead and dying were repeated by the ministers and sorrow-stricken people and the buildings were crowded with assemblages whose earnest attention and fervent responses to the supplications of the officiating clergymen gave evidence of the deep grief that bowed down the hearts of the congregation.

The *Times* states that the services on April 17, 1865, at the Synagogue Shaary Zedek, Rev. Mr. Menks officiating, lasted from 8.30 a. m. to 1 p. m.

In the Synagogue Shearith Israel of New York, the rabbi recited the *Hashkabah* (prayer for the dead) which, according to the *Jewish Messenger,* was the first time that this prayer had been said in a Jewish house of worship for any other than those professing the Jewish religion. This innovation pro-

voked very strong remonstrance in some Jewish quarters. Rev. Mr. Leeser, however, took a liberal view. Addressing the Hebrew Congregation in Washington he declared that:

> Prayers for the deceased President were in accordance with the spirit of the faith which the Jews inherited as children of Israel who recognized in all men those created like them in the image of God, and all entitled to his mercy, grace and pardon, though they have not yet learned to worship and adore Him as they do who have been specially selected as the bearers of His law.

The number of Jews taking part in the funeral procession in the city of Washington was about 125, mainly members of the "Hebrew Congregation" under the marshalship of B. Kaufman.

Of the 50,000 who marched in procession in the city of New York, 7000, according to the *Jewish Messenger,* were Jews, chiefly members of the orders of B'nai B'rith, B'nai Mosheh and Free Sons of Israel, including some 2000 who paraded with the Masonic, military and other organizations. The Free Sons of Israel carried a banner with the inscription:

> **The Father of his Country is Dead,**
> **The Nation Mourns him.**
> ***LINCOLN***
> **He is not dead but he still lives in**
> **the hearts of the Nation.**

The Henry Clay Debating Association of forty members, Samuel Adler, president, was assigned a place in the procession, as were the employes of Heineman and Silberman's factory. Following the funeral procession in the city of New York a memorial meeting was held in Union Square under the direction of 100 leading citizens, Martin H. Levin, a merchant of prominence, being the only Jew among them. George Bancroft was the orator and to Rabbi Samuel M. Isaacs was assigned the reading of the Scripture. Referring

to this meeting Bishop Simpson said in his oration at the burial in Springfield:

The Archbishop of the Roman Catholic Church in New York and a Protestant minister walked side by side in the procession, and a Jewish rabbi performed a part of the funeral service.

Most of the synagogues and Jewish organizations of the city were represented at this gathering, delegations being present from the Board of Delegates of American Israelites, the Purim Association, the Jerusalem Society, the Mutual Benefit and Burial Society, Young Men's Hebrew Benevolent Fuel Association, Hebrew Benevolent Society and Orphan Asylum, and Congregations B'nai Jeshurun, Shaarai Tefila, Anshe Chesed, Rodef Sholom, B'nai Israel, Ahawath Chesed, Beth Israel, Bikur Cholim Kadisha, Atereth Israel and Mishkan Israel.

The Jews of Boston joined in a funeral procession which ended at the Temple Ohabei Shalom, where an address was delivered by Rev. David Myers. In the *Tribute of Nations* covering 1200 contributions from every portion of the civilized world and published by order of Congress in 1867 the resolutions of this congregation appear in full, strange to say, being the only tribute from American Jewish sources in the entire volume. They read as follows:

BOSTON, April 16, 1865.

At a vestry meeting held this day by the Hebrew Congregation Ohabei Shalom, worshipping in Warren street synagogue, a committee was appointed to draw up resolutions in regard to the late lamentable national calamity, and the following preamble and resolutions were drawn up and passed unanimously:

Whereas it has pleased an all-merciful Father to remove from our midst his Excellency ABRAHAM LINCOLN, President of these United States of America, by death, at a moment when the whole nation rejoiced in the promised peace of our distracted country; and

Whereas this death has been caused by the foul hand of an assassin, who came unawares upon his illustrious victim while

enjoying relaxation from his arduous duties, in the company of the partner of his bosom; and

Whereas feeling that this calamity concerns every individual, not alone in this country, but throughout the civilized world, affecting as it does the capability of mankind to govern themselves, and dealing a fearful blow against republican institutions: Therefore,

Resolved, That we, the congregation "Ohabei Shalom," of the city of Boston, deeply deplore this sad event, and we humbly bow to our Heavenly Father, praying this last, his "greatest sacrifice" of all will suffice "the monster moloch," and that the Lord our God will be pleased to sanctify the death of our Chief Magistrate to the end that no more victims shall be required to end this unholy war.

Resolved, that with grief and horror we noticed the attempted double assassination of the Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Seward, and his family, one ripe in years, wisdom and honor; that this attempted assassination is scarcely less to be deplored than that of the Chief Magistrate, whose death the nation now mourns, and that no words can convey the deep sorrow which we feel within us that the first officer of the country should thus be cut off from among us at the moment when his wisdom and prudence were about to lead us out of the chaos of war to the paradise of peace.

Resolved, That we deeply sympathize with the bereaved family of the late most worthy Chief Magistrate, and that no words of ours can convey the deep shock, the thrill of horror, the unspeakable agony with which the sad tidings were received by our community. But we hope that He who tempers the winds to the shorn lamb—He who was from the "beginning" "the protector" of the "widow and orphan," will also vouchsafe to be the protector of the family of the lamented dead (dead in the flesh, but living in the hearts of his countrymen). May he temper their grief, and let them remember, and let us hope, that the good deeds done by him whilst on earth will intercede for him before the throne of Almighty God, and that the throne of martyrdom be sanctified unto him.

Resolved, That the synagogue shall be draped in mourning for thirty days and that a prayer for the dead shall be chanted every Sabbath day and Mondays and Thursdays during that time.

Resolved, That on the day of the funeral of the lamented dead, a funeral sermon shall be preached in the synagogue, and that

we, the members of this congregation, unanimously resolve to close our places of business on that day for the purpose of keeping it as a day of mourning.

Resolved, That a copy of the above resolutions be forwarded to the widow of the lamented President, as also to the family of the Secretary of State; that they be sealed with the seal of the congregation and signed by the president and vice-president and secretary.

Resolved, That the above resolutions be entered on the minutes of the congregation and published in the *Post*, *Journal*, and *Herald*, newspapers of this city.

Done the 19th day of Nisan, of the year of the creation 5260—April 16, 1865.

S. MYERS, *President.*

[Seal.] S. STEINBURG, *Vice-President.*

N. EHRLICH, *Secretary.*

The Boston *Traveller* of April 20, 1865, notes that "Solemn and appropriate services were held at both the Jewish Synagogues," the second house of worship being undoubtedly that of the Reform Congregation Adath Israel of which Rev. Joseph Schoninger was rabbi. There were at this time two other synagogues in Boston, Mishkan Israel, Rev. Alexis Alexander rabbi, and the Dutch Jews' synagogue, the rabbi of which is unknown.

The United Hebrew Congregation of St. Louis, A. S. Isaacs, president, ordered their place of worship draped in mourning and that the members wear the usual badge of mourning for thirty days. The congregation was addressed by Dr. Henry Vidaver. At the Synagogue B'nai Israel in the same city Rev. Mr. Kittner spoke. The Hebrew Young Men's Literary Association of St. Louis adopted resolutions drawn up by a committee composed of S. H. Lazarus, J. R. Jacobs, and A. S. Aloe which were published in the Missouri *Republican* of April 19, 1865. The Congregation Emanu-El of San Francisco was addressed on the day of the President's death by Rev. Dr. Elkan Cohn, who was handed a despatch announcing the assassination just as he was going

into his pulpit to deliver the weekly sermon. Rev. B. H. Gotthelf addressed the Congregation Adath Israel of Louisville. Congregation Mickve Israel of Philadelphia adopted resolutions in which Lincoln was described as

> One of the best and purest presidents, who like the law-giver Moses brought a nation to the verge of the haven of peace, and like him was not allowed to participate in its consummation.

In the Brevard Street Synagogue, Detroit, Michigan, Rev. Dr. Isidore Kalisch delivered an eloquent address dwelling especially on Lincoln's proclamation of emancipation and likening him to Moses. He also referred to the President's tolerant views, citing as an instance his action in reference to the appointment of Jewish Chaplains for the army.

According to the Chicago *Evening Journal* of May 2, 1865, the Jews were represented in the funeral procession in that city by the Hebrew Benevolent Association and Congregation Bikur Cholim. The establishment of Stein, Kramer and Company draped their store elaborately and a portrait of Lincoln, heavily draped, occupied a place in the window. Foreman Brothers displayed a motto reading:

> "First in the Race that led to Glory's Goal."

> The President's body rested in the Court House in Chicago for two days, say Nicolay and Hay, under a canopy of sombre richness inscribed with that noble Hebrew lament: "The Beauty of Israel is slain upon the high places."

Two congregations in Albany, N. Y., were conspicuous in the demonstrations. Rev. Max Schlesinger spoke at the Temple Anshe Emeth, and the Congregation Beth El held a special meeting at which elaborate resolutions were adopted. These were published in full in the *Evening Journal* of that city of April 20 and the *Argus* of April 21, 1865. This congregation voted to hold services three times on the day of the funeral, first at 6 a. m. for morning prayers, at 10 a. m. for a sermon by the Rev. J. Gotthold, rabbi of the congregation, and at 6 p. m. for evening prayers.

The resolutions of the Washington Literary and Dramatic Association, adopted on April 18, 1865, were published in full in the Washington *National Intelligencer* of April 24. They were drawn up by a committee composed of S. Wolf, Julius Lowenthal, F. P. Stanton, A. Hart, and J. Stralitz, and read:

By the death of Abraham Lincoln the nation has sustained an irreparable loss, freedom her brightest and purest champion, humanity her greatest benefactor, who, more than any other whose name history transmits, deserves the poet's tribute of being "A man take him for all in all we ne'er shall look upon his like again." He has immortalized the country over which he so worthily presided by ever remaining true to freedom and the constitution affected by his inspiration; his heroism, statesmanship and kindness of heart during the trying ordeal of this accursed rebellion will be the marvel, and command the admiration of future ages as they have aroused the fervent homage of the present; the Emancipator stands side by side in our affection and esteem with the Father of his country.

While we mourn this great loss we utter our respectful protest against any leniency towards the responsible leaders of this accursed deed; this is yet and ever shall be a government of the people, more slow to anger but sure to avenge; we extend to Andrew Johnson, the President of the United States, our assurances of esteem and confidence and readiness to sustain him in all acts that will redound to the glory and perpetuity of our beloved country.

Resolutions were drawn by a committee of the Hebrew Benevolent Society of New York, composed of P. Frankenheimer, Philip Spier, M. Mayer, I. S. Solomons, and I. Phillips.

District Grand Lodge No. 2 of the order of B'nai B'rith representing the States of Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, Missouri, Michigan, Tennessee, Illinois, and Wisconsin called the assassination "a futile attempt to overthrow the grand principles of freedom and to place in its stead anarchy with its attendant misery." The Executive Committee of the Board of Delegates of American Israelites resolved that

The Israelites of the United States are deeply sensible of the loss humanity has sustained in the painful death of the lamented President; that the loss strikes us with peculiar solemnity and significance at this momentous period of the National history when we behold so nigh the end of that unhallowed combination against the government to the hastening of which the good, the honest Abraham Lincoln, contributed so largely, and with all the zeal, the sincerity and the prudence of his kind heart, his clear practical judgment, his steadfast unfaltering fidelity to the Union.

J. H. Montefiore, President of London Board of Deputies, wrote a letter of condolence to the Hon. Charles Francis Adams, the American Minister in London, requesting him to convey it to Mrs. Lincoln and the United States Government. In the House of Commons, Benjamin Disraeli spoke of the President's death in seconding the address to the Crown.

Jewish citizens in several of the seceded States also joined in paying homage to the deceased President. In Richmond, Va., Rev. M. J. Michelbacher of the Synagogue Beth Ahaba devoted a sermon to the assassination which he characterized as a most horrible crime and expressed his satisfaction that it had not happened in Richmond. At Memphis the military commander of the Federal forces, having assumed control of the demonstrations, two Jewish congregations united with other denominations in a joint service held in the city park, these being Congregations Israel, Rabbi Tuska, and Beth El, Rabbi Joel Alexander. In the funeral procession in that city appeared Euphrates Lodge, No. 35, Order B'nai B'rith, with its entire membership of 167, Samuel Schloss acting as marshal. Rev. Dr. Bernard Illoway addressed the Congregation Shaarey Chesed of New Orleans. The Congregation Termini Derech of New Orleans draped their synagogue in mourning and was addressed by Colonel Philip J. Joachimsen of New York. Citizens of all classes held a memorial meeting in Charleston, S. C., at which Governor Aiken presided. Samuel Hart, Sr., and Benjamin M. Seixas were members of a Committee of Fifty to draft resolutions. Unmoved by this

touching manifestation of a fallen foe the New York *Tribune* correspondent at Charleston, S. C., in a venomous letter to his paper assailed the majority of the Committee of Fifty as sympathizers with the Confederate cause, Hart and Seixas being with others specifically designated as "still violent secessionists at heart."

The official minutes of the Lincoln Monument Association of Springfield record among the very first contributors to the fund the "Hebrew Citizens of Alton, Ill.," followed shortly thereafter by the Hebrew Congregation of St. Joseph, Mo., and the Hebrew Congregation of Philadelphia.

Dr. C. H. Liebermann, a practicing physician of Washington, was one of the nine medical men at the death-bed of Lincoln, and his portrait is among the forty-seven persons in Alonzo Chappel's painting, *The Last Hours of Lincoln,* executed in 1867. From a steel-plate engraving of this painting we learn:

Lincoln's family physician, Dr. Stone and Surgeon-General Barnes accompanied by assistant Surgeon-General Crane were in early attendance, and later he was visited by Doctors Hall and Liebermann, and other eminent physicians, all of whom agreed that the wound was unto death.

Numerous contemporary newspapers referred to Dr. Liebermann's presence on this occasion and his name is mentioned in various books treating of the assassination. Neighbors of Liebermann in Washington are of the impression that he was a Jew, although unaffiliated with Jewish organizations. He was born in Riga, Russia, September 15, 1813, and died in Washington, March 27, 1886.

The flight, pursuit and remorse of Lincoln's assassin have been vividly portrayed by Emma Lazarus in a poem of five stanzas entitled "April 27th, 1865." She chose for her title the date of Booth's capture and death inadvertently given a day in advance of the actual date. These verses first appeared in 1867 in *Poems and Translations Written between the*

Ages of Fourteen and Seventeen. Owing to their ambiguous title their existence has escaped the notice of most students of Lincoln.

Inspired by the death of Lincoln, Judah Roswald of Baltimore wrote a poem in Hebrew called "Lincoln's Amnesty," the same being published in the *Jewish Messenger* of June 24, 1865.

In its issue of May 25, 1865, this journal published an appreciation of Lincoln in Hebrew by Isaac Goldstein. In translation this reads:

ACROSTIC

On Abraham Lincoln, Assassinated Nisan 18th, 5625.

My heart overflows with a good speech. I address my work unto a king. Psalms, XLV. 2.

I.

Happy art thou, Lincoln, Who is like unto thee!
Among kings and princes thou art exalted.
Much thou did'st with an humble spirit.
Thou art like a unique person in the land.
Who among princes is like Lincoln?
Who shall be praised like him?

II.

Thou hast also a name among heroes!
Thy right hand has achieved prowess against them.
Thou hast girded on the sword of the slain.
Thou hast drawn the bow by night and by day.
One Father has created us, thou hast said;
Therefore thou hast proclaimed Freedom in thy land.
The black people thou hast redeemed into Freedom:
Forever they will praise and bless thy name.

Who among princes is like Lincoln, and who can be praised like him?

Isaac Goldstein, the Levite.

Many eulogies of Lincoln were pronounced by the rabbis of many synagogues, and some of these were printed in the *Israelite,* the *Jewish Messenger,* the *Occident,* and daily news-

papers. Of these eulogies none has been preserved in permanent form with the exception of the following:

Liebman Adler, "address" (in *Fünf Reden*), Chicago, 1866.

David Einhorn, *Trauer Rede*, Philadelphia, April 19, 1865.

Henry Hochheimer, *Predigt*, April 19, 1865; *Fest- und Fasttag*, Baltimore, June 1, 1865.

Sabato Morais, *An Address*, Philadelphia, April 19, 1865; *A Discourse*, June 1, 1865.

Benjamin Szold, *Vaterland und Freiheit*, Baltimore, June 1, 1865.

Philip J. Joachimsen, *An Address*, New Orleans, April 29, 1865.

Lincoln's Clemency.

No phase of Lincoln's administration surpasses in interest the chapters dealing with the appeals to executive clemency. The importunities of pardon seekers and his habitual yielding to their entreaties in the face of earnest protests gave rise to much harsh criticism, but this rarely swerved him from his predetermined course of action.

An exceptional instance of Lincoln's denial of a pardon was narrated by the late Rabbi Benjamin Szold, of Baltimore, in the case of a Jewish deserter in General Meade's army. Stopping at Washington on his way to Rappahannock station Rabbi Szold sought an audience with the President with a view of obtaining a pardon for the condemned man. Lincoln being engaged at a cabinet meeting at the time, Dr. Szold sent in his Bible with the passage from Deutoronomy xx, 8, marked, at the same time making his plea for the soldier. Presently the President emerged with the Bible in hand, laughing heartily, "the tears rolling down his cheeks," according to an account of the visit published in the Baltimore *Herald* May 24, 1896. Several other soldiers in General Meade's army,—Catholics and Protestants,—were awaiting execution at this time for a similar offence and the President inquired of the Rabbi whether he was interceding for the Jew only or for all the deserters. Lincoln refused to interfere

but gave Dr. Szold a letter to General Meade asking that every courtesy be shown the bearer. Meade firmly refused to waive the death penalty on the ground that it would be a bad example for the army and a serious precedent for the future.

More fortunate in his effort to save the life of a Jewish deserter was Simon Wolf, of Washington, who paid a midnight visit to the President for that purpose.

> The scene, he says in a recent address in Baltimore, is indelibly impressed on my memory and gave evidence of the luminous spirit, humanity and charity which characterized the great President. Deserters at that period were numerous, soldiers were needed and stern measures were demanded to preserve discipline in the decimated ranks of the Army of the Potomac. Secretary Stanton and the Commanding Generals were continually complaining of the President's leniency. The execution in this instance was fixed for the following day. I was accompanied by "Tom" Corwin, the distinguished Ohio statesman. Mr. Lincoln listened patiently to the pleadings of both but stood firm. At last I pleaded with him on lines which I knew he could not resist. The President turned in his chair and rang a bell. The Secretary answered the call and he ordered a stay of execution. The young soldier subsequently led the forlorn hope at the battle of Cold Harbor, and fell in his tracks with the flag of his country wrapped around him and a monument to his memory has been erected. When I subsequently told the President of the tragic end of the boy he had so nobly pardoned, he was affected to tears. And this is the man whom a partisan press denounced as a "baboon" and an "ignoramus."

In the archives of the War Department is recorded the remarkable experience of David Levy, who was granted a pardon by Lincoln under peculiar circumstances. Levy in December, 1902, applied to the Pension Bureau for a pension, which was refused on the ground that his name appears on the books of the War Department as a deserter. The records show that Levy first enlisted on April 19, 1861, in the 16th Pennsylvania cavalry, serving until July 23, 1861, when he was mustered out. He again enlisted August 19, 1861, and

deserted February 22, 1863. This desertion was fatal to his claim for pension under the Act of Congress, and he was so informed. He immediately wrote to the Bureau that he was pardoned for that desertion by President Lincoln and as evidence of the fact he forwarded to the Pension Office a small card, such as Lincoln habitually used in the course of his official business, whereon was written in his well-known handwriting:

If David Levy shall enlist and serve faithfully for one year or until otherwise honorably discharged I will pardon him for the past.

Jan. 12, 1865. **A. LINCOLN.**

Upon receipt of this Eugene F. Ware, the Commissioner of Pensions, ordered that the pardon be recognized. This card Levy subsequently presented to Mr. Ware, who is now its owner.

In the *Century Magazine,* December, 1895, may be found numerous orders of Lincoln in reference to the appeals of pardon-seekers, including that of Abraham Samuels, arrested in Virginia in the fall of 1864 while trying to pass through the Union lines to obtain medical supplies for the Confederate army. Samuel's defense was that he "was simply trying to escape from the South." The matter was referred to Lincoln who endorsed the papers as follows:

It is confessed in this case that Samuels when arrested had on his person a paper *prima facie* showing that he was going North to obtain medical supplies for the rebels. Will the officer in conmmand at Fort Monroe please give him an opportunity of trying to prove that this was not his real object and report the evidence, with his opinion on it, to me?

A. LINCOLN.

After taking considerable testimony the President on December 10, 1864, issued this order:

Let the prisoner Samuels be discharged.

A. LINCOLN.

Diligent research fails to reveal the identity of Samuels.

Of exceptional interest was the arrest and imprisonment in Washington, 1864, of Goodman L. Mordecai, of South Carolina. He was the son of Benjamin Mordecai, one of the most prominent citizens of Charleston, and was then in his 26th year. He had received an honorable discharge from the Confederate Army, and had been an occasional contributor to the Southern press. Intending to visit Nassau in the interest of a prominent blockade company, he left Richmond bound for Washington, fortified with passports from Judah P. Benjamin, and the city authorities. Reaching Washington, he was arrested and refusing to take the oath of allegiance, was imprisoned for several months. He then sent for Samuel A. Lewis, an uncle of his *fiancée,* Miss Ada Jackson. Lewis was editor of the *Hebrew Leader,* and Vice-President of Mt. Sinai Hospital, New York. He also appealed to Dr. I. Zacharie, who took immediate steps for his release. He called on the President and successfully accomplished this result. In return for this act of kindness young Mordecai accompanied his benefactor to the White House to thank Lincoln for his consideration. Describing this interview, Mr. Mordecai told the writer:

> Zacharie unconsciously informed Lincoln that I had fought against the Government and that my father was the first contributor to the Southern Cause having been a subscriber in the sum of $10,000 soon after the secession of South Carolina. The President then grasped my hand and answered: "I am happy to know that I am able to serve an enemy." My release followed, on condition that I would not return to the South during the war. Proceeding to New York I found myself under the constant surveillance of the Federal detectives. I then called upon General Dix to whom I showed the President's order for my release which he examined with care and at once dismissed me remarking: "I bow to higher authority!"

On Lincoln's birthday, 1901, Mr. Mordecai contributed to the *New York Tribune* a detailed account of his arrest and release which was printed the following day. In the article

he ventured the statement that "one of the greatest, grandest characters in history was Abraham Lincoln."

Lincoln's course in this case occasioned a scandalous editorial in the anti-administration organ—the New York *World,* of September 24, 1864, its caption being "Mr. Lincoln's Unionism and Bunionism." Dr. Zacharie is held up as a man who had been courted and flattered by high officials because of his intimacy with the President. He, it alleges, "has often left his business apartment to spend an evening in the parlor with this favored bunionist." Zacharie is said to have "enjoyed Mr. Lincoln's confidence perhaps more than any other private individual." The *World* broadly intimates that Mordecai's release was obtained for a consideration and suggests that "there must be a reason for this remarkable intimacy between an obscure toe-nail trimmer and the Chief Executive of a great nation."

Noteworthy Incidents.

Several noteworthy incidents marked Lincoln's visit to New York when *en route* to Washington on February 19, 1861. Passing down Broadway in his barouche he may have noticed the establishment of Isador Bernhard and Son decorated with a banner with the device: "Welcome Abraham Lincoln, we beg for Compromise." The same night at the Astor House he greeted J. Solis Ritterband of the New York bar, President of the Young Men's Republican Club of the City of New York, who had made many speeches in the campaign, marched with the "Wide Awakes" and worked enthusiastically for the election of Lincoln and Hamlin. On the following day Lincoln was officially received at the New York City Hall where he was welcomed by Mayor Fernando Wood. An impromptu reception followed in the course of which the Mayor announced the presence of "Mr. Cohen" of Charleston, probably J. Barret Cohen, remarking as he did so that the gentleman was "outside the jurisdiction," bearing in mind the fact

that South Carolina had, sixty-two days before, passed an ordinance of secession. Whether Mr. Cohen's visit was prompted by admiration or curiosity does not appear in the *Tribune* account of the presentation, published the following day (February 20, 1861). At any rate, Mr. Lincoln extended a cordial greeting to the gentleman from South Carolina, observing as he did so that "the matter of jurisdiction makes no difference at all."

Lincoln's various calls for troops met with prompt response from the Jews, the names of 6000 of that faith being recorded by Simon Wolf in *The American Jew as Patriot, Soldier and Citizen,* as having served in the cause of the Union. The actual number serving was probably double that number. Numerous appointments and promotions in the military service attest Lincoln's appreciation of the services rendered by the Jews.

He appointed Major Leopold Blumenberg, of Maryland, Provost-Marshal of the third Maryland District, and President Johnson subsequently promoted him Brevet-Brigadier-General. Edward S. Solomon, a lieutenant in an Illinois regiment, was ultimately brevetted Brigadier-General and commended for "the highest order of coolness and determination under very trying circumstances" in the battle of Gettysburg. After enlisting as a private in an Indiana regiment Frederick Knefler rose to be Brevet-Major-General, the highest rank attained by any Jew in the Federal Army. In the first battle of Bull Run, in 1861, Colonel Max Einstein commanding a Pennsylvania regiment covered the retreat of the Union Army, and was subsequently appointed by President Lincoln United States Consul at Nuremburg, Bavaria. President Lincoln appointed Adolph A. Mayer of the Fourth New Mexico Volunteers Inspector-General of Volunteers. Among the recipients of Medals of Honor, authorized by Congress and approved by President Lincoln, were a large number of Jewish soldiers, both commissioned and non-com-

missioned officers, and privates. Colonel Marcus M. Spiegel of the 67th Ohio Infantry had been recommended for promotion to the grade of Brigadier-General but died of wounds received at Vicksburg before the appointment could be made.

Conspicuous in manifestations of loyalty was Uriah P. Levy, of the United States Navy, the owner of Monticello, the former home of Thomas Jefferson. Calling on Lincoln at the opening of the war, he placed his entire fortune at his disposal. The offer being declined, he subscribed liberally to the war loan. Levy died March 22, 1862, devising a large portion of his estate in Virginia and the city of New York to the people of the United States, for the maintenance, at Monticello, of an agricultural school for the children of deceased warrant-officers of the United States Navy. Mr. Fessenden of Maine, in a speech in the United States Senate shortly after Levy's death, estimated the value of the property so devised at $300,000. The constitutionality of this bequest gave rise to considerable discussion in the Senate. Litigation resulted in a reversion of the property to Levy's heirs (see Levy *v.* Levy, 33 N. Y., 97).

A touching story is told of Lincoln's visit to the bedside of a dying soldier of twenty-five, Lieutenant-Colonel Leopold C. Newman of the 31st New York Infantry. Newman's leg had been shattered by grapeshot in a battle near Fredericksburg, Va., early in 1863. He was carried to the National Hotel, in Washington, where, it has been asserted, Lincoln called to see him bearing with him a commission as Brigadier-General, Newman died shortly afterwards.

Mr. Simon Wolf, in his *The American Jew as Patriot, Soldier and Citizen* tells this incident, his authority being, so he informs the writer, a soldier of Newman's command who was present at Newman's death. Colonel Frank Jones, Newman's superior officer, at present attached to the War Department, states in reply to this that he has no knowledge of Lincoln's visit or of Newman's promotion, nor do the records of the

Department show any such promotion. That Newman's advancement was at least contemplated seems quite probable, inasmuch as there appears in the *Israelite* of July 3, 1863, the statement:

> Had Newman recovered he would have received his Commission as Brigadier General *which had been already written out for him.*

The *Occident* said in its issue of September, 1864:

> One Colonel Newman of New York obtained the *honorary* title of Brigadier General after he was mortally wounded;

and in reviewing the record of Jewish soldiers shortly after the close of the war took occasion to say:

> We do not believe that more than one officer, a Lieutenant Colonel when wounded was promoted to a Brigadier General, just before his death.

Unfortunately the identity of the officer is not disclosed.

Early appreciation of Lincoln's place in history is evidenced by an incident at a festival given by the Jewish women of Pittsburg, Pa., for the benefit of the Sanitary Commission on December 9, 1863. Inspired by the recent victories at Gettysburg and Vicksburg, which were doubtless regarded as harbingers of early peace, Jacob Affelder offered the following toast, which was published in the *Israelite* a few days later:

> Abraham Lincoln, the noble Pilot, called by the voice of the people to the position of danger and responsibility, when traitors' hands had directed the ship of State toward the breakers of National Destruction. Nobly has he buffeted the waves of Disunion, until now with the assistance of Providence and our gallant Army and Navy he has brought us within sight of our longed for peace. His name will be synonymous with Patience, Honesty and Justice.

President Lincoln was evidently in good humor when visited by Mr. Simon Wolf with an invitation to attend the celebration of the 300th anniversary of Shakespeare's birth in 1864 by the Young Men's Literary Association of Washington. Captain Isaac N. Gotthold of the 42d New York In-

fantry accompanied him. Mr. Lincoln, says Mr. Wolf, was drinking a cup of coffee when the two called. On learning the object of their visit he said:

"Well, boys, what are you going to play?"

When he was told "Hamlet," he said:

"Why could I not be the grave digger of the evening; for am I not a fellow of infinite jest?"

"Unfortunately," says Mr. Wolf, "the President could not come but he sent a check for $25."

For the purpose of introducing abroad certain publications from his pen bearing upon the mineral resources of the United States, Julius Silversmith, of California, an eminent metallurgist, sought the endorsement of President Lincoln. He presented letters of introduction from Governor James W. Nye, of Nevada, and United States Senator John Conness, of Oregon, both of whom assured Mr. Lincoln that Mr. Silversmith's mission was an important one, likely to induce a large immigration. They further stated that his encouragement would be highly appreciated by the loyal people of the western side of the continent. Mr. Lincoln, while not to be swerved from his usual policy of caution in dealing with strangers, endorsed Governor Nye's letter as follows:

Not personally knowing Mr. Silversmith I cheerfully endorse what Governor Nye says of him.

A. LINCOLN.

April 30, 1864.

On the letter of Senator Conness he wrote:

I do not personally know Mr. Silversmith but Senator Conness who writes the above is habitually careful not to say what he does not know.

April 30, 1864.

A. LINCOLN.

The original letters above quoted are in the possession of the Hon. Simon W. Rosendale, of Albany, N. Y.

Silversmith lived in San Francisco for some years before the Civil War. In the directory of that city for 1858 his

occupation is given as "assistant teacher at the Emanu-El Institute." During 1860-61-62 he was the editor and proprietor of the *Mining and Scientific Press.* In 1866 he wrote a *Practical Hand-Book for Miners, Metallurgists and Assayers,* which is recognized as a standard work in the profession. Silversmith died in Chicago in 1894.

To Edward Rosewater belongs the distinction of having with his own hands transmitted to the world from the telegraph office of the War Department in Washington Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation of January 1, 1863. He met the President twice that day and in the evening attended a ball at the White House. Rosewater came from Bohemia in 1854 at the age of thirteen. He was successively peddler, clerk and bookkeeper. At the age of eighteen he became a telegraph operator. In the Chicago *Tribune,* September 11, 1892, he tells, in an authorized interview, of a visit of the President to the War Department on December 13, 1862, Rosewater being the only telegraph operator on duty. General Burnside was at this time preparing to attack the strongly intrenched army of Lee at Fredericksburg, Va. Lincoln, evidently recalling Burnside's confessed incompetency to command the Army of the Potomac, as expressed to himself and others, and filled with forebodings of disaster, went to the telegraph office in his slippers at 8 a. m., and remained there all day. Rosewater did all the telegraphing for him, some by dictation and some verbal. The President's fears proved well-founded, Burnside's force of 100,000 men being overwhelmingly defeated with a loss of over 10,000 killed and wounded.

Rosewater was attached to the United States Military Telegraph Corps 1861-1863 and transmitted General Pope's despatches from various battlefields. He subsequently became manager of the Pacific Telegraph with headquarters in Omaha, Neb. Later he founded the Omaha *Bee,* which he conducted from 1871 to the time of his death in 1906.

The late Myer S. Isaacs, at one time judge of the Marine Court of New York City, attended a reception at the White House in February, 1865. He was accompanied by A. S. Solomons and his daughter Zillah. This interesting account of what he saw Mr. Isaacs wrote for the *Jewish Messenger* over the signature "M."

The President kindly assisted in the welcome and entertainment of the lady guests. We were presented and cordially greeted, Mr. Lincoln being particularly engaging in his remarks to the little daughter of the gentleman accompanying me, saying that he liked to see the children, and inquiring their names and whether he had seen them before. He is by no means so awkward as his pictures represent him; unusually tall, a head and shoulders above those around he had, of course, to stoop when speaking to most of his visitors, but his countenance strongly expressive of good nature as well as of resolution, an index of his heart, and nobody leaves the Executive Mansion without being fascinated by the kindly amiable bearing of the President. I was particularly struck with this, and in the demeanor of the numerous visitors of humble appearance, private soldiers, widows and other relatives of unfortunate or distressed members of the Union armies, whom I saw congregated in the ante-room on a subsequent day and who waited with patience and confidence their turn for an interview, many remaining there for hours, as the President's time is pretty constantly occupied, and all satisfied that their petition, however unimportant to others than themselves, would receive the gentle attention of the Chief Magistrate; and even a refusal would be couched in such kindly and winning language that their love and confidence in his goodness of heart would be diminished not at all.

With the passing years, Mr. Isaacs conceived a passionate admiration for Lincoln, seizing every occasion to extol his virtues and public record. As evidence of his earnestness and enthusiasm when discussing the war President it is interesting to note his indignation when the New York *Times,* shortly before his death, proposed the abolition of the Lincoln-Birthday holiday in that State on the ground that it was "a monument to legislative folly." This proposition elicited

a scathing reply to the offending newspaper (February 20, 1903), reading as follows:

His unparalleled career from the modest Kentucky home to the White House, his devotion to country in the period of dire distress and danger, his tragic taking off, his immortal deeds, his trust in the common people, the lofty place he occupied among the leaders of men in modern times, entitle him to the distinction due only to Washington and Lincoln—setting apart his natal day, for the study and appreciation of his character and achievements, the inspiration that elevates the Nation, the lesson of a life dwelt upon wherever humanity feels sympathy for the oppressed and downtrodden and honors unselfishness and devotion.

One of the vast army of civilians attracted to Washington in the early days of the Civil War was a young Englishman, Dr. Isachar Zacharie, who had attained considerable celebrity as a skillful chiropodist. By some means he was introduced to Lincoln and very friendly relations resulted, their intimacy going so far, it is alleged, that Zacharie was entrusted with confidential missions to Savannah and New Orleans, being subsequently sent to Richmond in the rôle of peacemaker, a statement which should be accepted *cum grano salis.*

In a letter to his wife, dated Fortress Monroe, September 23, 1863, Zacharie notes his intention of leaving the following day "for Dixie," under flag of truce; for what purpose does not appear. He expresses concern about his reception by the people of the South, hopes they will listen to him, and intimates that he may be long absent. Samuel Zacharie, a son, accepts this letter as evidence of his father's visit to Richmond on behalf of President Lincoln, insists that he had interviews with Jefferson Davis and Judah P. Benjamin, but offers nothing in corroboration of his actual presence in Richmond or interviews with the Confederate leaders.

Of Dr. Zacharie's close relations with Lincoln there is little doubt. Whether these went beyond the bounds of professional intercourse cannot be determined, the only evidence of their acquaintance being a document in the handwriting of Lincoln

now in the possession of the Zacharie family which reads as follows:

> Dr. Zacharie has operated on my feet with great success and considerable addition to my comfort.
>
> A. LINCOLN.
>
> Sept. 2, 1862.

Dr. Zacharie's strong foothold in political and social circles in the National Capital was the subject of a column editorial in the New York *Herald,* October 3, 1862, under the caption "The Head and Feet of the Nation." Zacharie is described as

> A wit, gourmet and eccentric, with a splendid Roman nose, fashionable whiskers and eloquent tongue, a dazzling diamond breast-pin, great skill in his profession and an ingratiating address, a perfect knowledge of his business, and a plentiful supply of social and moral courage.

Secretary Stanton, it adds, was unable to resist such a combination of eloquence when Zacharie called to see him with a proposition to treat the feet of the soldiers and he even proposed the raising of a corps of chiropodists to accompany the various armies. "Prior to that," says the *Herald,* "he had trimmed the feet of President Lincoln and all his Cabinet." After the war Dr. Zacharie resumed the practice of his profession in the city of New York, and subsequently in London. In England he founded a branch of Free Masonry, known as the Order of the Secret Monitor, in which he wielded much influence. He died in London in 1897, at the age of seventy-two, his death being extensively noticed by the American press, special prominence being given to his relations to Lincoln.

One of Lincoln's ardent admirers was a South Carolinian, Septima M. Collis, the daughter of David C. Levy, later a Philadelphia banker. She contracted a romantic marriage with Charles H. T. Collis, captain of an Independent Company known as the *Zouaves d'Afrique,* of Philadelphia, and accompanied him to the front, her experience being recorded in a little volume *A Woman's War Record.* Being presented

to President Lincoln, while the Army of the Potomac was on the Rappahannock, she was struck by his curious attire.

He wore a dress suit, she writes, his swallow tail coat being a terrible misfit, and it puzzled me very much to tell whether his shirt collar was made to stand up or turn down—it was doing a little of both.

Another Jewess who recorded her impressions of Lincoln was Rose Eytinge, the actress. Accompanied by Wallack and Davenport she went to the White House in response to an invitation from the President, who had witnessed their performance.

When I was presented to the President, she records in her "Memoirs," he took my hand, and holding it while he looked down upon me from his great height said, "So this is the little lady that all us folks in Washington like so much!" Then with a portentous shake of his head but with a twinkle in his eye, he continued, "Don't you ever come around here asking me to do some of those impossible things you women always ask for, for I would have to do it and then I would get into trouble." At a social function Miss Eytinge relates she met Secretary Seward by whom she was not favorably impressed because he was stately, cold and dignified whereas she found Lincoln simple, warm-hearted and free spoken.

President Lincoln's entry into Richmond in 1865 was witnessed by Sir Moses Ezekiel the eminent sculptor, a native resident of that city, who had served in the Confederate Army. The then budding artist recognizing the President's presence in Richmond as an historic event, made at this time a close study of Lincoln. This enabled him some thirty-five years later to execute for Nathaniel Myers of New York a bust of the great Emancipator.

After the President's death his family settled in Frankfort because of their reduced circumstances. Here Henry Seligman befriended them, and interested Senator Sumner in legislation to grant Mrs. Lincoln a pension. On receiving the pension Mrs. Lincoln returned to America. In thanking Sumner for his efforts she remarked that her husband's friends had remained loyal to her and the children.

SOME NOTES ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE SHEFTALLS OF GEORGIA.

By Edmund H. Abrahams.

The Colonial history of our common country bears witness to the patriotic activity of the Jew, and no section owes more to his integrity, industry and love of country than the Empire State of the South.

On July 11, 1733, a tiny vessel rode the harbor of Georgia's first and then infant town Savannah. Ashore, all was excitement. The vessel bore news from home, but more portentous, it bore new colonists of an alien race.

After considerable opposition from the Directors of the Company who held the Royal Charter in England, permission had been obtained by certain Jews to brave the terrors of an unknown land in quest of a home and religious liberty. At their own expense, they obtained passage on this vessel, which had touched at Charleston, South Carolina, before its arrival in Savannah.[1]

[1] Extract from the Minutes of the Trustees.

Palace Court. September 21st., 1732.

Commissions were desired by Thomas Frederick, Mr. Anthony da Costa, Francis Salvador and Alvara Lopez Suaso, to take subscriptions and collect money for the Charter . . . . Granted.

January 31., 1732-3. Ordered that the Secretary wait upon Mr. Salvador, Suaso and Costa with the following message in writing:

Whereas, commissions were granted to the said persons to collect such money as should be contributed for establishing the colony of Georgia, in America, and to transmit the same to the Trustees, by them to be applied for the purposes in their charter mentioned; and the Trustees being informed that certain expectations have from thence been raised, contrary to their intentions, which may be of ill consequence to their said designs; therefore, to obviate any difficulty that may attend the same, they desire

Wearied from their lengthy trip, there landed on the soil of Georgia: "Benjamin Sheftall; Perla Sheftall, his wife; Dr. Nunis; Mrs. Nunis, his mother; Daniel Nunis; Moses Nunis; Shem Noah, their servant; Isaac Nunis Henneriques; Mrs. Henneriques, his wife; Shem, their son; Raphael Bornal; Mrs. Bornal, his wife; David Olivera; Jacob Olivera; Mrs. Olivera, his wife; Isaac and David, their sons; Leah Olivera, their daughter; Aaron Depevia; Benjamin Gideon; Jacob Crosta; David Lopez and his wife; Mr. Veneral; Mr. Molena; David

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the said persons will redeliver to Mr. Martyn, their Secretary, their said commissions.

February 7th., 1732-3. Secretary acquainted the Board that he had waited upon the above persons.

December, 1733. Ordered that the Secretary do wait upon Messrs. Lopez, Suaso &c. with the following message in writing:

Whereas, a message dated January 31st., 1732-3 was sent for the redelivery of their commissions, with which they did not think proper to comply, and which, on the said refusal, were vacated by the Trustees; and Whereas, the Trustees are informed that by moneys raised by virtue of their commissions, which moneys ought to have been transmitted to the Trustees, certain Jews have been sent to Georgia, contrary to the intention of the Trustees, which may be of ill consequence to the colony; the Trustees do hereby require the said persons to immediately redeliver to Mr. Martyn, their Secretary, their said commissions, and to render an account in writing to the said Trustees of what moneys have been raised by virtue thereof, and if they refuse to comply with this demand, that then the Trustees will think themselves obliged not only to advertise the world of the demand and refusal of the said persons to deliver the commissions and accounts, and of the misapplication before mentioned, in order to prevent any further impositions on his Majesty's subjects, under pretence of an authority granted by these vacated commissions, but likewise to recover these commissions, and demand an account of the moneys collected, in such manner as their Council shall advise.

December 29th., 1733. Read a letter from Lopez in answer to the message and Secretary ordered to deliver the message.

The Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America

Moranda; Jacob Moranda; David Cohen and his wife; Isaac Cohen, their son; Abigail, their daughter; Hannah and Grace, their daughters; Abraham Minis and his wife, and Leah, their daughter, and Esther, their daughter; Simon Minis; Jacob Yowell and Abraham DeLyon."[2]

Few fragments have come to us of the early Colonial life of these settlers. Of their trials and struggles we know little. We have evidence of their deep religious devotion, which manifested itself in the establishment of a common worshipping place. A copy of the "Safer Torah" had been brought from England in a "Hechal," and in a rude home on the shores of the New World, the Congregation Mickva Israel was founded.[3]

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received a letter from said persons, in answer to a message sent for their commissions, which letter does not appear satisfactory to the said Trustees; they think themselves obliged not only to insist on the redelivery of their commissions, but as they cannot conceive but the settling of Jews in Georgia will be prejudicial to the colony, and as some have been sent without the knowledge of the Trustees, the Trustees do likewise require that the said persons, or whoever else may have been concerned in sending them over, to use their utmost endeavors that the said Jews be removed from the Colony of Georgia, as the best and only satisfaction they can give to the Trustees for such an indignity offered to gentlemen acting under his Majesty's charter.

January 19th. The Secretary acquainted the Trustees that he had called upon said persons, and delivered to the Board their commissions.

—White's "Historical Collections of Georgia," page 328.

[2] This is the list of settlers, in Hebrew, kept by Benjamin Sheftall, who came over with them, and translated by him for his sons Mordecai and Levi. The original is in the possession of the writer.

[3] The original "Hechal" remained in the possession of the Sheftall family until nine years ago. It was then tendered to the Congregation Mickva Israel, to be kept by it as a relic. The shortsightedness of latter-day "commercialism," however, refused the tender, and this memorial was then destroyed, to prevent its desecration.

It will be observed that these settlers were not Germans; they were Portuguese and Spanish Jews and some few English, descendants of refugees from Holland. Dr. Nunis was a Portuguese. His knowledge of medicine rendered him invaluable to the colonists. He attempted to introduce the wine and silk industries, but in this he failed. The Sheftalls were English, originally from Bavaria. Many have claimed that the first real native Georgian was a Jew—Phillip Minis, the first Jewish child born among these colonists.

Oglethorpe and his band had preceded these settlers but a few days. Little had been done towards building homes or obtaining a permanent footing; much remained to be done and few there were to do it. That inexplicable prejudice which has existed in the breasts of religious fanatics from the time of the tragedy on Mount Calvary, asserted itself even under these adverse circumstances, and the voice of the "Jew-hater" was heard even in the vastness of an untrod wilderness hushed by Nature's God. But some superior intellect seems always present to rise above petty bigotry, and the benign influence of Oglethorpe soothed the discordant elements.

Through the foresight of Oglethorpe, a treaty of peace was concluded with Tomochichi, the Chief of the Yamacraw Indians, and by this, the colonists were saved from the horrors of many Indian invasions.

The Jews were allotted grants in the original division of the town, which they promptly occupied.[4]

[4] The writer has in his possession an original grant to Benjamin Shetfall for a lot on Broughton Street, in Savannah. Other Jewish names appear of record as owners of land, viz., Isaac Nunez Henriquez, Moses le Desme, David Cohen del Monte, Abraham Nunez Monte Santo, Samuel Nunez Ribiero, Moses Nunez Ribiero, Jacob Lopez d'Olivero, and Isaac de Val.

The writer has not examined the "Sheftall Diary," so often

Charleston, in the Province of South Carolina, which was founded some years prior to the landing of the colonists in Georgia, was but a short distance away, and numbered among its inhabitants many co-religionists; it was an older and a growing town, and constant communication was kept up between these two communities.

In England, interest in the experimental colony began to lag. The departure from Georgia of Oglethorpe, the prime mover in this great work, was a severe blow to Savannah, and the reaction, incident to the lapse of interest, soon made itself manifest. Only those stoutest of heart could withstand the temptation to seek more cheering scenes, more generous friends, more glowing opportunities. Most of the Jewish colonists moved away, some to Philadelphia, some to Newport, R. I., but most of them to the neighboring town of Charleston. From this time until the years succeeding the Revolution, the Jewish history of Savannah was practically confined to the records of the families of Sheftall, Minis and DeLyon, who remained.

The Sheftalls had relatives in Philadelphia, and from the correspondence that passed between them, it appears that Philadelphia was the center of Jewish interests in the New World at this time. All the manufactured necessities of life were purchased in Philadelphia and sent to Savannah by

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erroneously referred to as being in the possession of Miss Sallie Sheftall of Savannah, Ga. This diary belonged to Mrs. Virginia Sheftall, and is now in the possession of Mrs. Waring Russell, her daughter. It is said to be a private diary, originally written in Hebrew by Levi Sheftall, a son of the original settler, and a half-brother of the Sheftalls above referred to. Levi Sheftall appears to have mingled more with the Jewish element than his half-blood. The diary is purely a private one, however; it relates to family news and gossip, and contains nothing of permanent historical value.

sailing vessel. With the families of Hart and Bush, the Sheftalls continued in constant communication.[5]

No special burial ground was at first provided by the Jewish settlers. One of the family of DeLyon must have been among the first stricken, because a donor of that name dedicated a small tract of land for a family burial ground, and interments were made therein. This became known as the "DeLyon Cemetery." The remains of this burial ground are still in existence; the headstones and tombs have long since disappeared, but the remains of the mounds can still be seen. This burial ground is a small lot which is now in a very thickly populated part of Savannah. It is local tradition that soon after the first death, a Jew other than of this particular family died, application was made for the use of the DeLyon burial ground, and permission was refused.[6]

Mordecai Sheftall, hereinafter referred to, was very much angered at this apparent smallness of heart, and decided to dedicate a tract of land as a burial place for all Jews. He accordingly made a deed of trust to "Phillip Minis, Levi Sheftall, of Savannah, Merchants, Isaac D'Acosta and Joshua Hart of Charleston, Merchants, Sampson Simson and Solomon Simson of the City of New York, Merchants, Isaac Hart and Jacob Riveira, of Newport, and Abraham Hart and Joseph Gompert, of the City of London, Merchants, as Trustees," conveying a five acre tract of land which "shall be and forever remain to and for the use and purpose of a place of burial, for all persons *whatever* professing the Jewish religion, and to and for the purpose of erecting a synagogue or building

[5] Mordecai Sheftall (referred to in this paper) married Frances Hart in 1761, as appears by reference to a marriage settlement between the parties, recorded in Mesne Conveyances Records of Georgia, Book O-3, page 501.

[6] The statement of this tradition was made to the writer by Mrs. Perla Sheftall Solomons, the granddaughter of Mordecai Sheftall.

for the worship of those of the said profession." The deed was executed on "the second day of August in the thirteenth year of the reign of King George III," and A. M. 5533.[7]

This burial ground continued to be used by all of the Jews of Savannah until about 1850. It is still in existence and bears the bodies of many of the colonists and their descendants. Among those here buried are Mordecai Sheftall, Sheftall Sheftall, Dr. Moses Sheftall and his children. Their tombstones are well preserved.

Tondee's Tavern, maintained by one Peter Tondee, was the great gathering place of the gentlemen of these early times. Here the youth of the town played quoit, while their parents spent the time drinking, singing, jesting and gossiping, or in discussing the latest news from beyond the seas.[8]

The happy thought occurred to one of these congenial parties that the money wasted in card playing might be used to great advantage for charitable purposes. The Orphan School at Bethesda, founded by the great John Wesley, the Father of Methodism, was the object of their charity, and from the unity of purpose, represented by the religious beliefs of three of its five organizers—Peter Tondee, a Catholic, Benjamin Sheftall,

[7] This deed is recorded in the County Records of Chatham County, Book X, page 461.

Because the land adjacent to the burial ground was never used for the purpose for which it was dedicated, and was no longer available for burial purposes, a reversionary interest in it vested in the donor's heirs. The land being of considerable value, however, Mrs. Perla Sheftall Solomons in 1897 conveyed the same in trust to named Trustees of the Congregation Mickva Israel, upon condition that the burial ground should always be kept in a state of preservation.

[8] This tavern is known in local history as the "Tondee Liberty Tavern" from the fact that the first liberty pole in Georgia was erected there on June 5, 1775. The Daughters of the American Revolution have placed a memorial tablet on the spot where the tavern stood.

a Jew, and Richard Milledge, an Episcopalian—sprang the charitable organization known as "The Union Society." This society is still in existence, accomplishing the great good its founders made possible.

For years the victims of oppression, now transplanted to a new home in a new world, the Jews of Georgia became ready champions of the cause of liberty, the spirit of which began to spread over the land. Mordecai Sheftall, born in Savannah on the 16th day of December, 1735, appears to have been particularly active. In fact, his activity was such that he was proscribed in the Royal Proclamation, published in the *Georgia Gazette* on July 6, 1780, as a "great Rebel." At this time he was Chairman of the "Rebel Parochial Committee," and he and others who had espoused the cause of liberty were declared traitors to their mother country and were declared ineligible to hold any office of dignity or trust. In this published list, are included the names of the signers of the Declaration of Independence from Georgia, two generals in the American Army, and others holding offices of trust under the American Government.

It must be recalled that while the active scenes of the Revolutionary War during the early part of that struggle were in the North, excitement was intense in the South. A Committee of Safety had been organized in Savannah and delegates had been sent to the Congress. The royal magazine had been broken open, six hundred pounds of ammunition taken thence, and this with other munitions of war had been forwarded to the North, where part of it was used in the defense of Bunker Hill.

When the active operations of the war shifted to the South, Mordecai Sheftall was commissioned by the Provisional Congress "Commissary General of Issues for the State of Georgia," for the purpose of buying and issuing supplies to the army; his son, Sheftall Sheftall, a lad of fifteen, was appointed his deputy. That both Mordecai Sheftall and his

son enjoyed to the fullest extent the confidence and esteem of the members of the board having in charge the management of the war, is attested by the large sums received and disbursed by Sheftall.[8]

Having overrun the Carolinas, the British drew near to Savannah, the extreme southern outpost of the ragged Continentals. The account of the siege and capture of the town is a matter of common historical knowledge. The story of the

[8] The following letters are in the possession of the writer:

"PHILA, July 16th., 1781.

SIR: Deliver to Colonel William Few One Thousand Silver Dollars out of the money in your hands, belonging to the State of Georgia, for which he will be accountable to the State.

Your most obdt. servants,

GEORGE WALTON
RICHARD HOWLY.

MR. MORDECAI SHEFTALL
Agent for Purchasing Cloathing."

"PHILADELPHIA, 24 May, 1781.

SIR: The bills of exchange which you have received by our order amounting to Four Thousand Two Hundred Dollars, drawn by Congress upon their Minister in France, are intended to produce the means of procuring cloathing and other necessaries for the militia upon actual duty belonging to the State of Georgia; and we hereby appoint you to be the Agent for conducting the business relying upon your discretion to do the best in your power, for which the customary commission will be allowed to you. You will consult the Delegates of the State, from time to time in the execution, as well with respect to the sale of bills, as in the purchase of cloathing.

We are sir, your obedient servants,

GEORGE WALTON,
WILLIAM FEW
RICHARD HOWLY.

To
MORDECAI SHEFTALL, ESQ."

capture of Mordecai Sheftall and his son, is best told in the language of Sheftall himself:

This day the British troops, consisting of about three thousand five hundred men, including two battalions of Hessians, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Archibald Campbell, of the 71st regiment of Highlanders, landed early in the morning at Brewton Hill, two miles below the town of Savannah, where they met with very little opposition before they gained the height. At about three o'clock P. M. they entered, and took possession of the town of Savannah, when I endeavored, with my son Sheftall, to make our escape across Musgrove Creek, having first premised that an intrenchment had been thrown up there in order to cover a retreat, and upon seeing Colonel Samuel Elbert and Major James Habersham endeavour to make their escape that way; but on our arrival at the creek, after having sustained a very heavy fire of musketry from the light infantry under the command of Sir James Baird, during the time we were crossing the Common, without any injury to either of us, we found it high water; and my son, not knowing how to swim, and we, with about one hundred and eighty-six officers and privates, being caught, as it were, in a pen, and the Highlanders keeping up a constant fire on us, it was thought advisable to surrender ourselves prisoners, which we accordingly did, and which was no sooner done than the Highlanders plundered every one amongst us, except Major Low, myself and son, who, being foremost, had an opportunity to surrender ourselves to the British officer, namely, Lieutenant Peter Campbell, who disarmed us as we came into the yard formerly occupied by Mr. Moses Nunes. During this business Sir James Baird was missing; but, on his coming into the yard, he mounted himself on the stepladder which was erected at the end of the house, and sounded his brass bugle horn, which the Highlanders no sooner heard than they all got about him, when he addressed himself to them in Highland language when they all dispersed, and finished plundering such of the officers and men as had been fortunate enough to escape their first search. This over we were marched in file, guarded by the Highlanders and York Volunteers, who had come up before we were marched, when we were paraded before Mrs. Goffe's door, on the Bay, where we saw the greatest part of the army drawn up. From there, after some time we were all marched through the town to the courthouse, which was very much crowded, the greatest part of the officers they had taken being here collected, and indiscriminately

put together. I had been here about two hours, when an officer, who I afterwards learned to be Major Crystie, called for me by name, and ordered me to follow him, which I did, with my blanket and shirt under my arm, my clothing and my son's which were in my saddle-bags, having been taken from my horse, so that my wardrobe consisted of what I had on my back.

On our way to the white guard-house we met with Colonel Campbell, who inquired of the Major who he had got there. On his naming me to him, he desired that I might be well guarded, as I was a very great rebel. The Major obeyed his orders, for, on lodging me in the guard-house, he ordered the sentry to guard me with a drawn bayonet, and not to suffer me to go without the reach of it; which orders were strictly complied with, until a Mr. Gild Busler, their Commissary-General, called for me, and ordered me to go with him to my stores, that he might get some provisions for our people, who, he said, were starving, not having eat anything for three days, which I contradicted, as I had victualled them that morning for the day. On our way to the office where I used to issue the provisions, he ordered me to give him information of what stores I had in town, and what I had sent out of town, and where. This I declined doing, which made him angry. He asked me if I knew that Charlestown was taken. I told him no. He then called us poor, deluded, wretches, and said "Good God! how are you deluded by your leaders!" When I inquired of him who had taken it and when he said General Grant, with ten thousand men, and that it had been taken eight or ten days ago, I smiled, and told him it was not so, as I had a letter in my pocket that was wrote in Charlestown but three days ago by my brother. He replied we had been misinformed. I then retorted that I found they could be misinformed by their leaders as well as we could be deluded by ours. This made him so angry, that when he returned me to the guard-house, he ordered me to be confined amongst the drunken soldiers and negroes, where I suffered a great deal of abuse, and was threatened to be run through the body, or as they termed it, skivered by one of the York Volunteers; which threat he attempted to put into execution three times during the night, but was prevented by one Sergeant Campbell.

In this situation I remained two days without a morsel to eat, when a Hessian officer named Zaltman, finding I could talk his language, removed me to his room, and sympathized with me on my situation. He permitted me to send to Mrs Minis who sent

me some victuals. He also permitted me to go and see my son, and to let him come and stay with me. He introduced me to Captain Kappel, also a Hessian, who treated me very politely. In this situation I remained until Saturday morning, the 2d. of January 1779, when the Commander, Colonel Innis, sent his orderly for me and son to his quarters, which was James Habersham's house, where on the top of the step, I met with Captain Stanhope, of the Raven sloop of war, who treated me with the most illiberal abuse; and, after charging me with having refused the supplying of the King's ships with provisions, and of having shut the church door, together with many ill-natured things, ordered me on board the prison ship, together with my son. I made a point of giving Mr. Stanhope suitable answers to his impertinent treatment, and then turned from him, and inquired for Colonel Innis. I got his leave to go to Mrs. Minis for a shirt she had taken to wash for me as it was the only one I had left, except the one on my back, and that was given me by Captain Kappel, as the British soldiers had plundered both mine and my son's clothes. This favour he granted me under guard; after which I was conducted on board one of the flat boats, and put on board the prison ship Nancy, commanded by Captain Samuel Tait, when the first thing that presented itself to my view was one of our poor continental soldiers lying on the ship's main deck in the agonies of death, and who expired in a few hours. After being presented to the Captain with mine and the rest of the prisoners' names, I gave him in charge what paper money I had, and my watch. My son also gave him his money, to take care of. He appeared to be a little civiler after this confidence placed in him, and permitted us to sleep in a state room—that is, the Rev. Moses Allen, myself and son. In the evening we were served with what was called our allowance, which consisted of two pints and a half and a half gill of rice, and about seven ounces of boiled beef per man. We were permitted to choose our mess mates and I accordingly made choice of Capt. Thomas Fineley, Rev. Mr. Allen, Mr. Moses Valentonge, Mr. Daniel Flaherty, myself and son, Sheftall Sheftall.[10]

[10] This original manuscript is in the possession of the writer. Under the title "Capture of Mordecai Sheftall, Deputy Commissary General of Issues to the Continental Troops of the State of Georgia, December 29, 1778" it is found in White's "Historical Collections of Georgia," page 340.

After his capture, Sheftall and his son and four others, were placed aboard a prison-ship and carried to the Island of Antigua, in the West Indies. There, they were at first consigned to the common jail; but, after enduring untold privations, they were released on parole, that they would not leave the island.

Once out of jail, these unfortunates bent their energies towards obtaining an exchange. Letter after letter was sent to the Colonial Board of War, before an exchange was finally effected.[11]

The prisoners were first brought to Sunbury, in Georgia, where occurred an event noteworthy in the history of the Union Society, above referred to. The charter of this Union Society provided that unless a meeting and an election of

[11] "SIR: In consequence of the declaration of the Captain General's indulgence to the American Prisoners of War in this gaol, we take liberty to inform you that we are ready to repair to such part of the Continent as his Excellency shall direct with all speed, and in such manner as we shall find convenient upon parole, providing that a certified copy of the same be given, and our former parole returned.

We are sir, your obt. servts.

WM. WATSON
MORDECAI SHEFTALL
JOHN MARTIN
SHEFTALL SHEFTALL
THOMAS DICKINSON.

Antigua Gaol.
April 6-1780.
To JOHN ROSE, ESQ."

It appears that the prisoners were first paroled and then exchanged, because the parole of Mordecai Sheftall, as well as that of Sheftall Sheftall were forwarded, marked "Cancelled," to Philadelphia from Antigua, on September 12, 1780, by Mr. William Pitts, who states in the letter accompanying the parole that a Mr. Jarvis and his brother were exchanged for the Sheftalls. The original letter is in the possession of the writer.

officers were held annually, the charter should be forfeited. Realizing the necessity of holding this annual meeting, Sheftall arranged with three of his fellow-members, John Martin, John Stirk and Josiah Powell, prisoners and companions in misfortune, that the meeting should be held. Under the shelter of a spreading oak (by a curious coincidence, the same tree under which, tradition relates, Oglethorpe held the first Masonic meeting in Georgia), an election was held, and the charter was saved. The tree under which this election was held, became known in local history as the "Charter Oak."

Sheftall Sheftall, the son, appears to have been exchanged prior to the time that his father's release was effected, because a letter written in Antigua by Mordecai Sheftall to his wife in Charleston, S. C., indicates that he had not heard from her or his son, and was anxious to know of his whereabouts.

Frances, the wife of Mordecai Sheftall, removed to Charleston, S. C., after the capture of her husband and son. A letter written by her to her husband in Antigua, of date July 20, 1780, shows the extent of the privations suffered by the residents of Charleston. During the siege by the British, she said, the firing of the cannons from the enemy's warships was continuous, and smallpox stalked broadcast through the city, striking terror to the hearts of the brave defenders.

After his exchange, Sheftall Sheftall, was appointed by the Board of War, in Philadelphia, a Flag Master to carry money and provisions to General Moultrie for the benefit of the starving inhabitants of Charleston. They entrusted him with £1367, 18/1, besides flour and provisions. That Sheftall executed this commission with fidelity is shown by a subsequent appointment.[12]

[12] "War Office, December 19, 1780.

Sir: You will receive herewith the Invoice of the Cargo of the Sloop Carolina Packett and the proper Passports for her proceeding as a Flag to Charlestown in South Carolina. Upon your

On the 16th day of October, 1782, Mordecai Sheftall obtained permission to go to Savannah with a shipload of supplies and, together with Abraham Seixas and family, left the port of Philadelphia bound for Savannah. Permission was

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arrival there you will see that the necessary forms are complied with on your part for the delivery of the cargo to the orders of the Superior Officer of the Troops of these States, Prisoners of War at that Place. You will deliver your papers to General Moultrie, the Superior Officer of the Continental Troops, and take his orders in all things requisite to be done by you, as Flag Master. You will use every Degree of Diligence to prevent unnecessary delays, and if any happen, the Board will expect that you will bring the proper Testimonials on the Subject for your Justification. Sixteen Hundred Dollars in Specie or the value thereof in Gold is delivered to you. This you are to deliver to the Superior Officer of the Troops of these States at Charlestown and take his receipt therefor, which you will bring with you to Philadelphia, to which place the Vessell is to return with all convenient Dispatch. We are Sir,

Your humble Servants,

RICHARD PETERS

By Order of the Board.

You are to carry no Letters from Philadelphia or bring with you from Charlestown any Containing Intelligence or Correspondence of an Improper Nature that no Difficulty may arise in Consequence, and the business of the Flag be thereby impeded.

Dec. 22nd. You will also receive in addition to the above mentioned sum, a sum in Gold equal to Seven Hundred and Twelve Dollars and two thirds, which you are to deliver as above directed.

RICHARD PETERS.

To
Mr. Sheftall Sheftall
Flag Master of the Sloop
Carolina Packett."

obtained to pass through the British line of ships, as is shown by a passport issued by Admiral Howe.[13]

After the war was over, the government showed great ingratitude. Mordecai Sheftall had advanced much money from his own resources for the support and sustenance of the Georgia troops. Supplies being needed, and there being no

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The following is a copy of the letter written by Sheftall Sheftall, Flag Master, to General Moultrie:

"On Board the Sloop Carolina Packett.
Flag of Truce, March 2nd., 1781.

Honble. Brig. Genl. Moultrie,

SIR: A sailor belonging to this Flag deserted from her the 27th. of February in attending upon some of the Guards on shore. I wrote a letter yesterday to the Commandant requesting that the said fellow might be delivered up, as we are only allowed to carry six private men by Sir Henry Clinton, and have not received any answer. I therefore thought it my duty to inform you of it, and hope that you will demand him or send a man out of the Prison Ship in his room, as we shall be very weak handed. Our detention is owing to our anchor and cables being in the river which we cannot get without assistance and likewise our Ballast. You will be pleased to get any dispatches that you have to send as soon as possible, as the Honorable, the Board of War, pays demurrage. My instructions from the Board is that in case of any detention, that I must bring proper testimonials for the justification of myself. You will therefore be pleased to notify to the Board the reason of my detention.

SHEFTALL SHEFTALL,
Flag Master."

The first of the above letters and a copy of the second one are in the possession of the writer.

[13] "By Robt. Digby, Esquire, Rear Admiral of the Red, etc.

Whereas, application has been made to me on behalf of Mordecai Sheftall and Abraham Seixas of Georgia now residing in the City of Philadelphia, stating that the said persons with their respective families and effects were sent in Flags of Truce from Charlestown by order of the Commandant of that City to Philadelphia in Pennsylvania and requesting my passport to protect

money with which to purchase them, Sheftall had paid for them himself. When the British entered Savannah, the commissary was sacked, and many of his vouchers destroyed. Impoverished by the war, broken in health from his prison confinement, he applied to the general government to be reimbursed for the expenditures he had made. Imagine what

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them with their families, property and servants on their passage to Savannah in Georgia, and being willing and desirous to grant their said request and to restore the said persons to their places of abode:

Permission and protection is hereby granted to said Mordecai Sheftall for himself, his wife, and six children, and to Abraham Seixas, his wife and three children with two negro servants, together with their household furniture, bedding and wearing apparel and provisions, as follows: 80 barrels and 40 half barrels of flour; 20 barrels and 30 kegs of biscuit; 10 barrels of beef, 5 barrels of pork, 10 Firkins of Butter, 40 barrels of apples, 20 barrels of onions, with liquors, live stock and poultry for the voyage, to pass from the City of Philadelphia to Savannah in Georgia, on board a sloop called the Pearl, whereof John Ashton is Master, Burthen about 40 tons, navigated with seven men, free and unmolested. The said sloop having a proper clearance for the above purpose from the Government of Pennsylvania.

Given under my hand and seal on board His Majesty's Ship, 'Prince George' off New York, the 16th. day of October, 1782.

ROBERT DIGBY.

To.
All Captains, Commanders and other Commissioned Officers of His Majesty's Ships and Vessels of War, as well as to Captains of Privateers and Letters of Marque.

By Command of the Admiral
Thomas M. Palmer
(Seal)."

To this is attached a like permission, signed by John Dickinson, President of the Supreme Executive Council of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, with the Seal of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. (These papers are in the possession of the writer.)

must have been his chagrin, when he was told to present to the State of Georgia his claim for reimbursement, since that State did not have in its treasury sufficient funds to pay postage in order to answer his communication!

This claim was afterwards, in the years 1849-1850 and 1851-1852 presented to the Legislature of the State of Georgia by the heirs of Mordecai Sheftall, and reported to the General Assembly by the committee to whom it was referred, for favorable action. The "watch-dogs" of the treasury, however, succeeded in getting the resolution pigeon-holed, and the claim has never been paid. Ingratitude is not confined to individuals.[14]

Mordecai Sheftall, in February, 1796, became a delegate from Chatham County, to the General Congress, which convened in Louisville, Ga., then the capital of the State.

That Mordecai Sheftall continued an active and honored citizen until his death, which occurred on the 6th day of July, 1797, is attested by the correspondence which he maintained with the leading men of his time. Button Gwinnett, Lyman Hall and George Walton, the signers of the Declaration of Independence from Georgia; Abraham Baldwin, James Gunn, William Gibbons and General Lachlin McIntosh, signers of the first Constitution of the United States, were his intimate friends, and some of them endeavored to press his claim for reimbursement before Congress.[15]

[14] *Journal of House of Representatives of the State of Georgia*, 1851-1852, pages 101, 381, 591, 855.

It may be of interest to note here that in the very able article written by Max J. Kohler, Esq., entitled "Phases in the History of Religious Liberty in America with Particular Reference to the Jews" (*Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, Number 13, page 29), there is reference to an article copied from the Georgia *Gazette* of January 13, 1785, and signed "A Real Citizen." This article was written by Mordecai Sheftall, and the original manuscript is in the possession of the writer.

[15] Original letters are in the possession of the writer.

Mordecai Sheftall, as well as his son, Sheftall Sheftall, was a member of Solomons Lodge No. 1, F. & A. M., which owns a gavel made from the Charter Oak Tree, above referred to. Mordecai Sheftall's remains lie buried in the Jewish Cemetery which his bounty provided.

Sheftall Sheftall, who practiced law, survived his father many years, and died in 1848. He steadfastly refused to change his style of dress with the varying fashions, and up to the time of his death adhered to knickerbockers and cocked hat, and from this peculiarity, he became known, during the latter part of his life, as "Cocked Hat Sheftall." In recognition of his services to the cause of liberty, the Georgia Historical Society (still in existence) on June 10, 1839, elected him an honorary member.

Upon the occasion of the visit of the President of the United States to Savannah on May 10, 1819, Sheftall Sheftall was honored with an invitation to dine with the President, extended to him by the Mayor and Aldermen of Savannah.

A younger son of Mordecai Sheftall, Dr. Moses Sheftall, who was too young to serve his country in the Revolution, practiced medicine for many years in Savannah. He served the city of Savannah as Alderman, Port Warden and Overseer of the Poor, represented Chatham County in the State Legislature, and served as a Judge of the Inferior Court of the County of Chatham. He was surgeon of the Chatham Regiment in 1802. In 1834 he served as President of the Congregation Mickva Israel, the charter of which was granted in 1790.

Upon the election of George Washington as President of the United States in 1789, the Hebrew Congregation of Savannah, through Levy Sheftall, its president, by letter of date May 6, 1789, extended to General Washington its congratulations upon the happy event. The President replied to this letter, expressing his sincere thanks for their good wishes and hoped that "the same wonder-working Deity who long since de-

livered the Hebrew from their Egyptian oppressors, planted them in a promised land, whose providential agency has lately been conspicuous in establishing these United States, as an independent nation, may still continue to water them with the dews of Heaven, and make the inhabitants of every denomination participate in the temporal and spiritual blessings of that people whose God is Jehovah."

In these days of active commercialism, it is well to remember that at one time men thought more of their country, their ideals and their liberty than they did of the mere accumulation of wealth; and among those who so nobly assisted in the great struggle which gave birth to this grand Commonwealth, the Jew can point with some degree of pardonable pride to the record of the Sheftalls in Georgia.[16]

[16] For other references to the Sheftall family see the paper by Leon Hühner, *supra*, p. 89 *et seq.*

THE FIRST JEW TO HOLD THE OFFICE OF GOVERNOR OF ONE OF THE UNITED STATES.

By Leon Hühner, M. A., LL. B.

Jews have repeatedly held high office in the various States of the Union, even as far back as Revolutionary times. By way of illustration, one need but mention Colonel David S. Franks, who figures in the military annals of the War for Independence; Francis Salvador, an important member of the Provincial Congress of South Carolina; the Sheftalls of Revolutionary Georgia, not to enumerate the many prominent names in our country's history since the organization of the Federal government. Nevertheless, even down to our own day, the office of Governor, has rarely been held by one of Jewish race, and it is to the first Jew so honored, that this paper is devoted.

Curiously enough his name, also, is closely associated with the stormy days of '76. The subject of the present sketch is David Emanuel, and the State whose highest office he filled, was one of the original thirteen—the State of Georgia.

It is to be regretted, however, that the memory of this early governor has been so long neglected. The sources of information concerning him are now meagre indeed; the accounts of his family, the date and details of the leading events of his career, are merely touched upon by the various historians of Georgia, and are given differently by each particular writer.

Enough was gleaned from the various sources, however, to present a fairly connected account of Governor Emanuel.

In addition to this, Mr. Abraham Minis of Savannah, kindly made some inquiries on the subject in my behalf, and informs me that not only was the governor a Jew, but that the lady he married was a Jewess also. To the same effect this query has likewise been answered by Judge H. D. D. Twiggs of Savannah, in a letter from which I quote the following: "I do not know where Governor David Emanuel came from, *I only know that, beyond doubt, he was a Jew.*"[1] Judge Twiggs is a great-grandson of Ruth Emanuel the governor's sister, who had married General John Twiggs, a Revolutionary officer of note.[2]

Several Georgia historians have been content to state, that both the birthplace of the governor and the original abode of the family are unknown; other writers have variously given both, as Pennsylvania,[3] Maryland[4] and Virginia.[5]

Data in the office of the Secretary of the State of Georgia seem to indicate that two brothers, John and David Emanuel, came to Georgia about 1756 from Lunenberg County, Virginia. They are repeatedly mentioned in the "Acts of the General Assembly" of the former colony and appear to have

[1] Letter of Hon. H. D. D. Twiggs of Savannah, January 5, 1905. Also letter of Mr. Abraham Minis of Savannah to the present writer (March 12, 1904).

[2] General Twiggs was born in Maryland in 1750. A sketch of him may be found in White's "Statistics of Georgia," 1849, 565. In that connection, Ruth Emanuel is described as the "sister of Hon. David Emanuel, a lady of great firmness of character, and who, during the Revolution, in which her companion was soon to figure, endured many sufferings with a fortitude becoming the wife of an American patriot, etc."

[3] Adiel Sherwood, "A Gazetteer of the State of Georgia," Washington, 1837, p. 275.

[4] George G. Smith, "The Story of Georgia and the Georgia People," Macon, 1900, pp. 228, 319.

[5] "Historical Collections of Joseph Habersham Chapter, Daughters of the Amer. Rev.," Atlanta, 1902, Vol. II, p. 343.

been persons of consequence.[6] The subject of the present sketch was the son of John, whose will has been referred to recently in the publications of the "Joseph Habersham Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution." From this will, it appears that nearly all the brothers and sisters of the governor bore Biblical names, the brothers being Amos, Levi and Asa, while the sisters were named Elizabeth, Rebecca, Martha and Ruth.[7]

On the other hand, it is stated in White's "Historical Collections," that the family came from Maryland, along with the family of General Twiggs,[8] while Sherwood informs us that the Emanuels were of German extraction and had settled in Pennsylvania during the early part of the 18th century.[9]

David Emanuel was born in Pennsylvania in 1744[10] (this date is also given by other writers as 1742[11]). He settled in Burke County, Georgia, about 1768 or 1770[12] and is mentioned in 1774 as a justice of the peace in that section.[13] From the very beginning of the American Revolution he figured

[6] See "Acts of the General Assembly of the Colony of Georgia," Wormloe, 1881, printed for Mrs. De Renne. Edition limited to 49 copies. Copy at Columbia University, pp. 180, 199.

See also George G. Smith in "Historical Collections of the Joseph Habersham Chapter D. A. R.," Atlanta, 1902, Vol. II, p. 343. Also George White, "Statistics of Georgia," 1849, p.127.

[7] "Historical Collections of Joseph Habersham Chapter D. A. R.," Vol. II, p. 343. Also letters above referred to.

[8] See also George G. Smith, "The Story of Georgia, etc.," pp. 228, 319.

[9] Adiel Sherwood, "A Gazetteer of the State of Georgia," Washington, 1837, p. 275.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 275. Also George White, "Historical Collections of Georgia," New York, 1855, p. 221.

[11] According to the "National Cyclopedia of American Biography," Vol. I, p. 221, his birthplace is unknown.

[12] White's "Historical Collections, etc.," p. 221.

[13] George G. Smith, "The Story of Georgia and the Georgia People," Macon, 1900, p. 70.

prominently on the patriot side, as an able scout, a fearless soldier and as a member of the "Executive Council."[14]

During the war he repeatedly held civil office besides serving his country in the field. This in August, 1781, he was chosen by the Assembly to be a magistrate[14a] and in January, 1782, he was appointed justice for Burke County.[14b] A petition of his to the Assembly (the subject of which is not stated) appears in April, 1782,[14c] and in July, 1783, he was returned as a Member of the Assembly, taking the oath of office.[14d] He became a member of the Standing Committee on Petitions and was active in legislative affairs generally.[14e] In February, 1784, he was reappointed a justice for Burke County.[14f]

For a long time, Georgia was one of the battle grounds of the war and some severe skirmishing took place in Burke County between the Americans and the British. In all these Emanuel made a reputation for courage and daring.[15] He served throughout the entire struggle, and the historians of his State recount several of his adventures during this period. A thrilling account of his escape from death in 1781 is given by Jones,[16] Smith,[17] Stevens and in fact by every historian of the State of Georgia,[18] though curiously enough the detail given, differs in every one of these narratives. According to

[14] Charles C. Jones, "History of Georgia," Vol. II, p. 503. Also White's "Historical Collections, etc.," p. 221.

[14a] "The Revolutionary Records of the State of Georgia" (Atlanta, 1908), Vol. III, p. 15 (Journal of the House of Assembly).

[14b] *Ibid.*, p. 76.

[14c] *Ibid.*, p. 100.

[14d] *Ibid.*, p. 321.

[14e] *Ibid.*, pp. 321, 382, 383, 406.

[14f] *Ibid.*, p. 560.

[15] White, *supra*, p. 221.

[16] Charles C. Jones, "History of Georgia," Vol. II, p. 503.

[17] Smith, "The Story of Georgia, etc.," p. 228.

[18] See also "Memoirs of Georgia" (1895), I, p. 230.

White's "Historical Collections,"[19] Emanuel was captured by a party of loyalists commanded by Captain Brantley. The British conveyed him to McBean's Creek where he was ordered to be shot, but managed to make his escape in a most daring manner. Though White's narrative is vivid and exciting,[20] I have preferred here to give the account of this event as detailed by Sherwood, and this may perhaps be best presented by quoting directly from that writer.

Near McBean's Creek, Emanuel was taken prisoner while out on a scout, and condemned to be shot with two or three others. Deprived of most of their clothing and ready for execution, Mr. Davis, one of the unfortunate company, begged permission to go to prayer. This was granted and as may be expected he was engaged fervently at the throne of grace. He and other prisoners were then shot down, and though a big mulatto man (who was to have his clothes as a remuneration for shooting him) stood ready to fire, Emanuel jumped among the horses which were near, and made his escape. The night was dark, and jumping into a swamp, he sank to his neck. His pursuers, muttering their curses, passed several times near him, but a kind Providence permitted him to escape their notice. When all was still, he crept out and in the morning made his way to the army of General Twiggs.[21]

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[19] White's "Historical Collections, etc.," p. 221.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 221. "Brantley ordered a large fire to be kindled, and made Emanuel and his fellow prisoners Lewis and Davis take off their clothes, with the exception of their shirts. They then designated three men to shoot them, and placed the prisoners between them and the fire. The word 'Fire' was then given, upon which Davis and Lewis received their death shots, but the man who was directed to dispatch Emanuel, missed his aim, upon which our hero, with the rapidity of lightning, leaped over the fire and made his escape." See also White's "Statistics of Georgia," p. 243.

[21] Adiel Sherwood, "A Gazetteer of the State of Georgia," Washington, 1837, p. 275. See also account in Charles C. Jones, Jr., "The History of Georgia," Boston, 1883, Vol. II, p. 503, giving slightly different detail.

Needless to say, the patriot soldier suffered great hardship, particularly toward the end of the war when the State was practically overrun by the British. Nevertheless, even then he managed to harass the enemy, and it is recorded that he and about thirty other patriot families built a group of cabins below Augusta and became so troublesome that the place was designated "Rebel Town" by the Tories.[22]

Other members of the Emanuel family also fought for the cause of liberty. Thus Levi Emanuel, a brother of David, received a commission as second lieutenant from the Council of Safety as early as July 2, 1776,[23] and figures as a sergeant-major in the militia under General Wayne as late as 1782.[24]

After the Revolutionary War, the subject of our sketch became one of the foremost figures in Burke County, representing it in the legislature for many years.[25] He was also a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1789 and that of 1795.[26] In 1797 he was President of the Senate[27] and on March 3, 1801, he became the sixth Governor of Georgia.[28] It is not entirely clear, however, whether he held this dignity by virtue of his being the President of the Senate at the time, or whether he owed it to a regular election. The

[22] Sherwood's "Gazetteer, etc.," p. 275.

[23] Georgia "Historical Society Publications," Vol. V, Savannah, 1901, p. 70. "Proceedings of the Council of Safety.—At a meeting of the Council July 2nd, 1776. . . . . That Commissions be issued to . . . . Levi Emanuel as second Lieutenant of a company of militia in the Lower District of St. George."

[24] "Historical Collections of the Joseph Habersham Chapter D. A. R.," Atlanta, 1902, Vol. II, p. 27.

[25] Sherwood's "Gazetteer, etc.," p. 275, etc. White's "Historical Collections, etc.," p. 221.

[26] Sherwood's "Gazetteer, etc.," p. 275, etc.

[27] "Digest of the Laws of the State of Georgia," Savannah, 1802, p. 46. See also Sherwood's "Gazetteer, etc.," p. 275, etc.; White's "Historical Collections, etc.," p. 221; Georgia "Historical Society Collections," Vol. I, p. 164.

[28] *Ibid.*, as above.

authorities are in conflict on this point, Smith and Sherwood stating that he became governor "in the interim before a new election took place" because he was President of the Senate,[29] while other works (including the "Memoirs of Georgia," published by the Southern Historical Association) tell of his election to the office in 1801.[30] Certain it is, however, that the laws for that year, are signed "David Emanuel, Governor." [31]

When the great "Yazoo Frauds" were agitating the State in 1796, he was one of the three men to whom his fellow-citizens intrusted the investigation of that far-reaching conspiracy.[32]

Early in life, Governor Emanuel had married a Miss Ann Lewis; but thus far I have been unable to obtain any information concerning the Lewis family.[33]

The governor died in 1808 at his residence about ten miles northwest of Waynesboro.[34] In appearance and character, he is described as "a fine looking man, amiable, of good judgment and inflexible integrity." [35]

[29] Sherwood's "Gazetteer, etc.," p. 275, etc. Smith, "Story of Georgia, etc.," p. 228.

[30] "Memoirs of Georgia" (The Southern Historical Association, Atlanta, Ga., 1895), Vol. I, p. 230. Comp. White's "Historical Collections, etc.," p. 221.

[31] "Digest of the Laws of the State of Georgia," Savannah, 1802, pp. 109, 111, etc.

[32] "National Cyclopedia of American Biography," Vol. I, p. 221. This contains a facsimile autograph signature of Emanuel. See also Stevens' "History of Georgia," Vol. II, pp. 485-86.

[33] Sherwood's "Gazetteer, etc.," p. 275, etc. In a letter to the present writer (March 12, 1904) Mr. Abraham Minis informs me of his interview with Judge Twiggs on the subject, and that the latter had told him that the wife of David Emanuel was also a Jewess, that most of the children were given Jewish surnames, etc.

[34] Sherwood's "Gazetteer, etc.," p. 275, etc. White's "Historical Collections, etc.," p. 221, etc.

[35] *Ibid.*

There appears to be some doubt whether he remained a member of the ancient faith. While all other writers are silent on the subject, Sherwood states that he was a Presbyterian.[36] No authority is given for the statement which was first made about thirty years after the governor's death. It may possibly have originated from the fact that both the governor's daughters married Christian gentlemen, Ann becoming the wife of Hon. James Welch,[37] a member of the legislature, and the other having married Benjamin Whittaker, for many years Speaker of the House of Representatives.[38] The governor's sisters also had married non-Jews, though curiously enough their children bore decidedly Jewish names. The daughter of the one was named Rachael,[39] while the children of Ruth Emanuel who had married General Twiggs were Abraham Twiggs, General David Emanuel Twiggs and Major Levy Twiggs, who was killed at the storming of Chapultapec.[40]

Though the memory of David Emanuel has always been held in reverence by his fellow-citizens, his grave, like the graves of so many prominent men in the early history of our country, was permitted to fall into neglect and decay. It could no longer be pointed out when White wrote in the forties.[41] In its stead, however, there exists a monument to

[36] Sherwood's "Gazetteer, etc.," p. 275, etc.

[37] "Historical Collections of Joseph Habersham Chapter D. A. R.," Vol. II, p. 352.

[38] Sherwood's "Gazetteer, etc.," p. 275, etc.

[39] "Historical Collections of Joseph Habersham Chapter D. A. R.," Atlanta, 1902, Vol. II, p. 270. "Andrew Nowland, Jr., had for second wife Elizabeth Emanuel, daughter of Levi Emanuel, and I suppose sister of David Emanuel, Governor in 1802. A child of this marriage, Rachael, married Francis R. Vallotton, whose family was French." In the Digest of the Laws of Georgia (1802) appears in 1793 a David Moses Vollaton, who was possibly a Jew.

[40] Also letter of Hon. H. D. D. Twiggs of Savannah, January 5, 1905. See also White's "Statistics of Georgia," p. 565, etc.

[41] White's "Historical Collections, etc.," p. 221, etc.

his memory, far more lasting than stone, for in 1812, only four years after his death, the State of Georgia, in recognition of his patriotic services, named one of her largest counties in his honor, a county so large in extent, that for many years it was designated as the "State of Emanuel." [42]

There doubtless exists much additional material concerning the career of this remarkable man. It is to be hoped, therefore, that this sketch, meagre as it is, may serve to stimulate further research in the South and bring to light additional information concerning so interesting a figure of the past.

[42] Smith, "Story of Georgia, etc.," p. 319; White's "Historical Collections, etc.," p. 450; White's "Statistics of Georgia," p. 243.

NOTES.

Genealogy of the Gomez Family in America.

The following genealogy was copied some years ago by the writer from a family Bible belonging originally to Isaac Gomez, Jr., 1768-1831, and entirely in his own handwriting. He was for many years a member of the Board of Trustees of the Congregation Shearith Israel in the City of New York.

Isaac Gomez of Spain married Esther . . . . and died in France. Their children were a daughter, who married a Leghorn, Leonora, died single, and Luis Moses Gomez, born 1660, died March 31st, 1740. The last married Esther Markaze; she died May 21 1718, in New York; had following children:

Jacob (1), Mordecai (2), Daniel (3), David (4), Isaac (5), Benjamin (6),

Jacob (#1.) died single at sea on a trading voyage; killed by Spaniards.

Mordecai (#2.) Married Esther Campos of Jamaica; (she died September 29th 1736, aged 41 years and six months), and had three sons by her—Moses, Isaac and Jacob. Moses married in Jamaica and died young; had one child, the mother of Mrs. Flamenge of Jamaica, who had two sons, Solomon and Jacob. Isaac married Esther Jesserun of Curacoa, had several children and died there; Jacob died single and crazy in New York. Mordecai (#2.) died November 1, 1750, aged 62; married second time Rebecca, daughter of Rev. Abm. Haim de Lucenah, and had four children by her, as follows: Abraham, Moses, Esther and Rachel. Abraham died September 12, 1808, aged 66, single and a cripple; Esther married June 30, 1762 Uriah Hendricks; died 1775 aged 32; Moses died 1826, aged 82; married Esther, daughter of Aaron Lopez, of Newport, Rhode Island, she died January 3, 1811, aged 53, and had several children; all dead in 1807 except Aaron L. who married Hetty, daughter of Harmon Hendricks; Maria, who married Samuel Peixetto, and Lewis, who died single 1827, aged 34. Rachel Married July 4, 1770 Abm. Waage; died in England.

Daniel (#3.) Born June 23, 1695; Married in Jamaica, West Indies, February 10, 1724, Rebecca de Torres, (daughter of Joseph, who died March 16, 1724, his widow, Simhade de Tores, died October 23, 1746) and had Moses and Joseph; she died in New York, aged 28 years, October 14, 1729; Moses born in New York may 29, 1728, died in New York April 12, 1789; married his first cousin Esther of Isaac and Deborah De Leon Gomez May 14, 1755 and had several children; all died young except Daniel, who died in New York August 27, 1784, unmarried, aged 25, and Isaac Gomez, Jr., born in New York, July 28, 1768, married May 26, 1790 Abagail of Aaron Lopez and Sarah Rodriguez Reveira of Newport and granddaughter of Jacob R. and Hannah Reveira; Hannah died November 4, 1820, aged 100; Isaac Gomez Jr., died Dec. 5. 1831. Abagail his wife died August 2, 1851, aged 80. Joseph died aged five years, September 26, 1734.

Daniel (#3) married a second time Esther Levy of Curacoa; she died without issue May 31, 1753.

David (#4). Born August 14, 1697, died July 15, 1769; married Rebecca de Leon Sielva of Barbadoes, sister of Deborah de Leon, wife of Isaac Gomez (#5) and widow of ——— Sielva; she died in 1761 (Sept. 23.) in New York. They had no children.

Isaac (#5). Born July 13, 1705, died August 29, 1770; married Deborah de Leon of Barbadoes; had several children who died young, except Esther, born Barbadoes, August 8, 1739, died in New York August 7, 1822, married May 14, 1755, Moses, son of Daniel Gomez (#3); mother of Isaac Jr. and Matthias born . . . . died Philadelphia May 5, 1786, married February 6, 1765, his first cousin Rachel, daughter of Benjamin Gomez (#6) and had Esther, Deborah, Isaac and Benjamin; Rachel died in Newark, N. J. buried in New York April 16, 1776; her daughter Esther born July 19, 1768, married, probably a Christian, and died in Virginia before 1807; Deborah died single in Philadelphia, October 5, 1783; Isaac died single and a cripple December 4, 1810, aged 43 years and Benjamin died August 14, 1828, aged 59; married Charlotte, daughter of Uriah Hendricks and his first wife Esther Gomez, born September 26, 1773 died December 3, 1849, and had Esther Matilda (1), Matthias (2), Louisa (3), and Emeline (4), Matthias (2) was killed in a duel at New Orleans.

Benjamin. (#6). Born April 11, 1711 died August 8, 1772; married Esther Nunes of Barbadoes; she died, had Rachel, who married her first cousin Matthias of Isaac Gomez. (see above) She was born . . . . died in Newark, N. J., buried in New York City, April 16. 1776. (See her descendants under line of Isaac, #5).

N. Taylor Phillips.

An Unpublished Transcript Regarding a Jewish Colony at Serepique (Sergipe, Brazil?), 1658.

[Dr. M. Grunwald, in his *Portugiesengräber auf deutscher Erde* (pp. 124, 125), summarized some passages from the archives of the old Portuguese Synagogue of Hamburg regarding a proposed colony to a place described in the archives (p. 105) as "Serepique," which he identifies with "Sergipe," in Brazil. In No. 16 of our *Publications* (p. 106 note), Mr. Samuel Oppenheim contends that this identification of "Serepique" with "Sergipe" is untenable, and suggests that "Serepique" is a corruption of "Essebecke," or Essequibo.

It is not out of place to note here that Abraham Senior Teixeira, who figures in the transcript as the patron of the proposed colonists, belonged to the well-known Teixeira family, referred to in Graetz's *Geschichte der Juden* (1897), Vol. X, pp. 416-418 note, by Dr. M. Kayserling in J. Werthheimer's *Jahrbuch für 1860-1*, and in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. x, p. 75. Abraham Senior Teixeira, also known as Diego Teixeira Sampayo, after having lived as a Marrano in Portugal and at Antwerp, settled in Hamburg and there openly acknowledged himself to be a Jew in 1647 or 1648. Both he and his son Manuel Teixeira (Isaac Hayyim Senior Teixeira) served as diplomatic representatives at Hamburg of Queen Christina of Sweden. Both were distinguished bankers, and advisers and confidants of Queen Christina; she lived at their residence in Hamburg for some time. Abraham Senior Teixiera was for years the head of the Spanish and Portuguese Jewish Community of Hamburg, and was a man of very large means and princely generosity.]

25 Nisan 5418 (1658).

Mr. Abraham Senior Teixeira has offered to grant a subsidy to cover traveling expenses, varying with the size of each family, to such persons as desire to emigrate to Serepique, a land newly discovered by the Dutch, upon condition that all accepting his

offer will give security that they will not return to this city within three years. Inasmuch as many, and in fact a majority, are unable to furnish such security, the trustees have directed this entry to be made in the congregation-minutes, pursuant to which we the undersigned obligate ourselves not to return to this city of Hamburg within the said three years. Should we return, however, each of us shall in that event be liable for repayment of the money which he has received from Mr. Abraham Senior as also for what he has received from the congregation. The gentlemen of the Board of Trustees shall be authorized to expel us from this land, and to deal with us with such vigor as may be necessary, until we shall have complied with the writing of Mr. Abraham Senior and the necessary directions of the Board of Trustees, for they are becoming sureties for us. In witness whereof we have executed these presents at Hamburg in the year 5418.

(Signed) IMANOEL DE CAMPOS.
(Signed) DANIEL DE ABRAHAM DE CAMPOS.
(Signed) DAVYD O LIVEIRA (OLIVEIRA).
(Signed) DAVYD NUNES.
(Signed) JACOB SENIOR.

Ri somte o dro q
da osor Ab Senior.
ty xyra

(Recebi somente o dinheiro que du o Senior Abraham Senior Teixeira. I have received only the money which Abraham Senior Teiexeira gives.)

(Signed) DAVIE YESOURUN.
(Signed) GABRIEL LURIA.
(Signed) ELIAU YSRAEL.

M. GRUNWALD and J. CASSUTO, JR.

A SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE ON THE "JEWS IN THE DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE OF THE UNITED STATES."

On the occasion of the death of Adolphe Crémieux, the distinguished Jewish statesman, E. B. Washburne, ex-U. S. Minister to France, spoke at memorial exercises held in Chicago, March 7, 1880. Mr. Washburne referred to cooperating on behalf of the United States with Crémieux as the representative of the French ministry in 1872 when the Jews were being bitterly persecuted

in the Danubian principalities. With this clue the accompanying interesting correspondence was unearthed. Mr. Washburne's address, containing an interesting characterization of Crémieux, may be found in the *American Israelite* of March 19, 1880.

No. 131.

[Mr. Fish to Mr. Washburne.]

(No. 430.)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

WASHINGTON, July 22, 1872.

SIR: It has been suggested to this Department, and the suggestion is concurred in, that, if the sympathy which we entertain for the inhumanly persecuted Hebrews in the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia were made known to the government to which you are accredited, it might quicken and encourage the efforts of that government to discharge its duty as a protesting power, pursuant to the obligations of the treaty between certain European States. Although we are not a party to that instrument, and, as a rule, scrupulously abstain from interfering, directly or indirectly, in the public affairs of that quarter, the grievance adverted to is so enormous as to impart to it, as it were, a cosmopolitan character, in the redress of which all countries, governments and creeds are alike interested.

You will consequently communicate on this subject with the minister for foreign affairs of the French Republic in such a way as you may suppose might be most likely to compass the object in view.

I am, &c.,

HAMILTON FISH.

(Foreign Relations, 1872, page 183.)

No. 132.

[Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.]

(No. 679.)

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

PARIS, September 5, 1872. (Received September 19.)

SIR: I have the honor to forward you herewith a copy of the correspondence between Mr. de Remusat and myself, upon the subject of the persecution of the Israelites in Moldo-Wallachia, referred to in your dispatch No. 430, of July 22.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

(Foreign Relations, 1872, page 183.)

(Inclosure 1 in No. 679.)
[Mr. Washburne to Mr. Remusat.]
LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, August 9, 1872.

SIR: My government sympathises deeply with the Hebrews who are being so inhumanly persecuted in the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia. Mr. Fish thinks that if the feelings of the Government and the people of the United States were made known to the Government of the French Republic, it might aid in carrying out the obligations of the treaty between certain European states in respect to protection of the persecuted class. Although the Government of the United States is not a party to that instrument, and as a rule scrupulously abstains from all interference, directly or indirectly, in public affairs in that quarter, the grievance referred to is so flagrant as to impart to it, as it were, a cosmopolitan character, in the redress of which all countries, governments, and creeds are alike interested.

I am happy in communicating to your excellency the views of Mr. Fish on this subject, as I feel assured they will be cordially responded to by you.

My Government will hail with satisfaction all action of the republic of France which will put a termination to a series of relentless persecutions, which have become the opprobrium of Christian civilization.

I take this occasion to renew to your excellency the assurance of my distinguished consideration.

E. B. WASHBURNE.

(Foreign Relations, 1872, page 184.)

(Inclosure 2 in No. 679.)
[Mr. Remusat to Mr. Washburne.]
(Translation.)
PARIS, August 30, 1872.

SIR: Excuse me for not having answered sooner the letter of the 9th instant, I had the honor to receive from you on the part of Mr. Fish as well as yourself, recommending to the kind interests of the French Government the situation of the Israelites in the principalities of Moldo-Wallachia. This situation has been several times seriously compromised; the passions of the populace and the weakness of the authorities have put their lives in peril as well as the safety of their establishments. You are undoubtedly aware that our consul-general in several instances acted

with the American consul-general in making the necessary representations to the Roumanian government, with the respect due to an independent government. We never neglected to make to the consul at Bucharest observations urging justice and humanity, and we have obtained assurances for the future which respond to our wishes. You can say, sir, to Mr. Fish, that when the occasion presents itself, we shall insist that equal protection be accorded in Roumania to residents of all creeds. I am happy to say that our intentions in this respect accord with the sentiments you have expressed to me.

I take this opportunity, &c.,

REMUSAT.

(Foreign Relations, 1872, page 184.)

MAX J. KOHLER.

SURINAM ITEMS.

Regarding the Rev. P. A. Hilfman's paper in *Publication* No. 16, Dr. M. Grunwald, of Vienna, writes us that in fascicle I of the "Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für jüdische Volkskunde" a pass is mentioned, issued by Rabbi Lewinstein, a member of the Copenhagen rabbinical family of that name, for Surinam. It is written in Hebrew.

Further, Rachel, the celebrated French *tragedienne*, in her successful tour of both Americas visited Surinam. See Georges d'Heyli, *Rachel d'apres sa Correspondance*, Paris, 1882.

DR. BENJAMIN RUSH AND THE JEWS.

In 1905 there was privately published by Louis Alexander Biddle, a memorial of Dr. Benjamin Rush, written by himself and extracts from his Commonplace book. This work contains two references to Jews which are here given:

"I remarked further that many of the children of Tory parents were Whigs, so were the Jews in all the States" (page 89). The other is a reference of a different character. "December 15, 1812. This day I received twenty dollars from Mrs. Bravo from Jamaica, for attendance upon her husband who died in this city. I did not expect a payment of this bill, having seldom and perhaps never received payment of a bill under equal circumstances. Mrs. Bravo was a Jewess," (page 214).

The Bravo here mentioned is unquestionably Jacob M. Bravo recorded in the book by Rev. H. Elmaleh and Mr. J. Bunford Samuel, as having been buried in the Spruce Street burying ground, Philadelphia, April 29, 1812.

CYRUS ADLER.

AMERICAN JEWS AND THE GERMAN REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS OF 1848-1849.

The Jews of Germany, Austria, and Hungary, even before the period of open revolution in these countries following upon the troubles in Paris in February, 1848, had been active supporters of the liberal programme. The cultured and enlightened among them heralded the dawn of an era of general religious, political and social equality for all men in the downfall of the reactionaries. Thus, Gabriel Riesser, the protagonist of Jewish emancipation in Germany, whose activity in this respect commenced as long ago as 1830, was one of the leaders in the Parliament of Frankfort-on-the-Main in 1849. Dr. B. H. Oppenheim was active in the councils of the revolutionary government in Baden in the latter year, after the Grand Duke had been compelled to flee from his capital. Innumerable instances and the names of Heinrich Heine and Ludwig Börne in Germany, Isidor Busch, who shortly afterwards came to the United States, and many others in Austria and Hungary, at once come to mind—might be cited to prove these statements.

But it must not be assumed that this open espousal by the Jews of the popular cause was pleasing to all the people. Indeed, the activity of the Jewish revolutionists provoked outbursts of latent anti-Semitism, and in Baden, for example, as the late Karl Blind states in his "Reminiscences" the lives and property of Jews were rendered insecure for a considerable period of time.

In those days, of course, the United States possessed no such favorable means of communication with Europe as exist at the present time. Mr. Hezekiah Kohn, who came to New York in 1839 and who is still living (1909), informed the writer that American Jews took neither a passive nor an active part in the revolutionary aspirations of their co-religionists in the Old World in 1848 and 1849. Such families and individual persons as still had relatives living in the European countries affected may have taken a personal interest in the outcome of the struggles, and the

German-Jewish rabbis settled here prayed piously perhaps for the success of liberalism when they recalled the tyranny of the reactionaries of their student-days at the universities.

But great inducements to emigrate to America were held out to the German and Austrian Jews. The American correspondents of Ludwig Philippson's *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums*—and they were the Rev. Dr. Max Lilienthal, at New York City, and the Rev. Isaac M. Wise, at Albany, N. Y.—pictured American religious freedom and political equality in glowing terms, and influenced to some extent no doubt the great wave of Jewish immigration to this country which set in after the ultimate failure of the revolutionary movements. With the details of this immigration the present note has no concern: it may be of interest to note that the immigration of Christian liberals to the United States in those years of the 1850's assumed very large proportions, too. When Gabriel Riesser visited America in 1856 he was greeted, as he relates in his letters, by many former German revolutionary soldiers—both Jewish and Christian—and in New York City they gave a public dinner in his honor. Many German Jews who resided at Philadelphia united to form the Riesser Club, for many years, as I am informed by Ephraim Lederer, Esq., of that city, an active and useful organization.

The Rev. George Alexander Kohut was kind enough to call my attention to a poem, "Auf! Nach Amerika!" by Sigmund Herzl, of Wieselburg, in which the glories of American life and liberty are strikingly depicted. Here, exclaimed the poet, true brotherly love reigned supreme: ignorance and base prejudice were altogether unknown. The poet was, of course, not the father of Dr. Theodor Herzl, the late Zionist leader; the poem was published in Isidor Busch's *Central-Organ*, a journal of Vienna, (v. i, 1848).

ALBERT M. FRIEDENBERG.

NECROLOGY.

Isaac S. Isaacs.

Modesty was never more beautifully combined with conscientious endeavor and heartfelt ability as a Jew and a citizen of our great Republic than was found in the gifted person of Isaac S. Isaacs, who passed into Heavenly bliss on December 7, 1906, aged sixty-two years.

His heredity, no doubt, was the basis of his successful career, which was one continued tale of family affection: loyalty unto friends and modestly doing good unto others.

The Reverend Samuel Myer Isaacs, his universally venerated father, was the first Jewish minister in New York who delivered English sermons, monthly, from his pulpit of Congregation B'nai Jeshurun. The writer, who was then but fourteen years of age, is largely indebted to him, and makes acknowledgment that through his benign influence he became more observant, and certainly it also must have applied to many other of his congregation "to observe and to do" the behests of the sacred Law in Israel's keeping, as expounded by our rabbis of blessed memory. For forty years he ably and honestly performed this conscientious service, and at his death was succeeded by the erudite Dr. Morris J. Raphall of England.

The third son of the Rev. Mr. Isaacs, Isaac Samuel Isaacs, the subject of this sketch, was educated in the city of New York, at the leading collegiate school of that period—"Forest and Mulligan"; and in 1867 graduated and received the degree M. A. at the University of the City of New York, and in the same year was made LL. B. at Columbia College. Soon thereafter he became an assistant editor upon *The Jewish Messenger,* which was founded by his father in 1857. He

was admitted to the bar in 1868; entered the law office of Isaacs & Sanger, of which his brother, Myer S. Isaacs, was a member, and at the death of Mr. Sanger in 1894 took his place under the firm name of M. S. & I. S. Isaacs, which had a large clientele, especially among real estate dealers, besides a miscellaneous practice involving large transactions.

In 1878 he married Estelle, the youngest daughter of Barnet L. Solomon, who was President of the Congregation "Shaary Tefila," and also head of the largest wholesale manufacturing upholsterers of the period, under the style of Solomon & Hart. His wife lamentably died in 1879, leaving a daughter, Isabel, who married Edgar A. Levy; his grandson named after his cousin Julien Isaacs, of blessed memory, he was spared to see.

For over a quarter of a century he was the active and efficient Secretary of The United Hebrew Charities of New York, which office he held until his death.

In 1874 he was the prime mover in founding the Young Mens' Hebrew Association of New York, of which he was the President for three years.

He became President of The Shaary Tefila Congregation in 1898; was elected President of the First National Council of Jewish Charities in 1899; was a charter member and governor of the social organization known as "The Judæans"; and was a director of The Hebrew Mutual Benefit Association, besides taking an active part in and being a liberal contributor to many of the Jewish benevolent and literary societies in New York and elsewhere. On several occasions he contributed articles which appeared in the *Publications* of this Society. No service to uplift the religious, benevolent and social standing of Jews everywhere was ever too great for him to undertake, and, through his influence, to induce others to join in the good work he was always accomplishing.

But even beyond and above all these magnetic traits of character his "doing good by stealth" was the most lovable

of his God-given attributes—all of which have embalmed his memory in the very souls of his family and will remain a shining mark among his hosts of friends.

Among the other admirable traits possessed by Mr. Isaacs was the social side of his character, which was as warm and free from guile and selfishness as that of a mere child. His home-life was ideal: always mindful of the happiness of his lovable surroundings and continually reaching out for the procurement of their every comfort, which was so beautifully blended with the religious training he had acquired in the home of his childhood that it became of perennial bloom in the aftermath of his second household. This loveliness naturally branched far out in his paternal care of the unfortunate among our people, whether from poverty, illness, or death, and gentleness in his official capacity as almoner of the bounty of others was always as tactful and modest as it was cordially effective, leaving a bright example of duty which must be, and is, gratefully felt among his many appreciative contemporaries.

Adolphus S. Solomons.

Dr. S. L. Frank.

Dr. Samuel Leon Frank was born in Baltimore on October 17, 1841, and died in that city on August 3, 1906. His father was a pioneer in the manufacture of clothing in Baltimore, and a man of probity and strong character. As a boy, Dr. Frank was sent to the best private schools of Baltimore, graduating at the Dalrymple School preparatory to taking up medical studies. He spent one year in the office of Professor Nathan R. Smith, a distinguished local physician. Having graduated at the University of Maryland, he was then given three years of medical training abroad. In 1864 he returned to Baltimore to take up the practice of medicine, making a

specialty of ear diseases, in which he soon gained for himself a high reputation.

In 1869 he married Bertha, oldest child of William S. and Amalie Rayner of Baltimore. In 1872 he resigned active practice to go abroad with his wife. While abroad he devoted himself to the study of the eye, and was the first American to receive a position as assistant to Mr. Soelberg Wells, in the London Ophthalmic Hospital.

In 1875 Dr. and Mrs. Frank returned to Baltimore and spent from that year until 1906 with Mrs. Frank's parents. In 1884, owing to the death of George W. Rayner, Dr. Frank definitely retired from the practice of medicine, to the deep regret of a large and devoted clientele.

From 1884 to the hour of his death his life outside of the home was energetic and useful. Mrs. Frank's invalidism called for the best that a life could give and to this was added his activities as a devoted son and a family counsellor. His genial manners won him many friends in all walks of life. His business interests were many, his charities most unostentatious, and the crowning pleasure of his life was the presidency of the Jewish Hospital of Baltimore. He was among the first to tender his services to the Hospital when built, and he remained throughout one of its staunchest friends.

Dr. Frank's estate was left to his widow, to be devoted during her life to educational and charitable purposes. The principal gift made in accordance therewith has been the Dr. Samuel Leon Frank Memorial Hospital erected on the grounds of the Hebrew Hospital and Home in Baltimore; but in many other directions his life and service have been perpetuated.

J. H. H.

Michael H. Cardozo.

There have been a number of Hebrew lawyers who have become conspicuous by virtue of elevation to the Bench or as

holders of other high civil stations, but the subject of this sketch, unaided save by his own natural ability, indefatigable labor and uncompromising sense of rectitude without at any time in his life occupying public office, and with no personal effort whatever to attract general attention became one of the acknowledged leaders of the New York Bar. Respected for his learning and absolutely unimpeachable character, his counsel was eagerly sought by the junior members of the profession, and his opinion in any matter relative to the exposition of the law was always received with confidence and regard. No practitioner ever more zealously guarded the loftiest ideals of professional integrity and etiquette than he, and so high a standard did he set for himself that never throughout his entire active career was there an occasion upon which his mere word did not receive instant acceptance by the Court. Mr. Cardozo's entire life seemed to be bound up in the law and the elevation of the ethics of its practice. It was to him, to quote the ancient maxim, indeed "a jealous mistress," and he gave freely of his time and talents to its service. To him it never meant an avenue for acquiring wealth, and an unrighteous cause could never find a place upon his calendar no matter what the size of the proffered fee.

Michael Hart Cardozo was born in New York City on January 12, 1851, and died at his residence in that city on July 19, 1906. He was the son of Abraham H. Cardozo, a well-known New York merchant, and of Sarah Maduro Peixotto, both of whom were of Spanish and Portuguese descent, and of old New York families. His great grandfather, Benjamin Mendez Seixas, was a militia officer in the American Revolution.

His preparatory education was received in the public schools, and he was graduated from the College of the City of New York in 1870. Subsequently he entered the University Law School, at about the same time becoming a law student in the office of Morris & Billings. Graduating from the Law

School in June, 1872, he was admitted to the Bar, and immediately became managing clerk in the office with which he had identified himself. His capacity manifested itself so early that within a few months he was admitted into the firm as junior member, and it became known as Morris, Billings & Cardozo. In 1878, by the retirement of one of the members the style was changed to Billings & Cardozo, and so continued until the death of Mr. Billings, in 1894. He was succeeded by Mr. Edgar J. Nathan, and the firm name was changed to Cardozo & Nathan, which still obtains.

Mr. Cardozo's practice was very large, and while he did not confine himself to any particular branch of the law, that on insurance appears to have received more of his thought, and in fact it is no exaggeration to say that for years he was regarded as the authority on that difficult subject, much of the law thereon having been settled by the courts as the result of his able pleading. He was general and special counsel for many of our largest railroads, and some of the largest corporations in this country constantly retained him.

He became a member of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York in 1873, served as a member of the Executive Committee of that body, and was a member of its Library Committee for many years and until his death. He regarded it as a potent instrument to preserve the integrity of the Bench and Bar, and as such he lent to it all the support at his command. From 1883 to 1888 he served as one of the examiners of candidates for admission to the Bar, having been so designated by the Supreme Court. He was also chairman of the Executive Committee of the New York Law Institute, and one of the Committee of Counsel to the Lawyers' Title Insurance & Trust Company.

Only a few weeks prior to his death in 1906, the Judiciary Nominators, an independent organization gathered from the Bar of New York City for the purpose of selecting candidates

of only recognized ability and character for the Supreme Court Bench in the election of that fall, tendered to Mr. Cardozo the nomination for Justice of the New York Supreme Court in the First Department. He was at once the first choice of the Committee on Nominations, which comprised the flower of the New York Bar, and it has recently been well said in this connection, in a memorial of him prepared by the New York Law Institute, that "no such honor has fallen to any other lawyer within the memory of this generation." While he had never before been persuaded to become a candidate for public office, nor had he ever any ambition to occupy a place upon the Bench, he accepted the nomination, more for the reason than any other that he did not feel at liberty to put from him that which was the spontaneous expression of the confidence and respect of his brethren at the Bar, they who were also best able to measure his character as a man and a lawyer.

Mr. Cardozo married in 1878 Miss Rosalie Hart, who died in January, 1881, and had two sons, Ernest A. Cardozo and Michael H. Cardozo, Jr., who follow the profession so honorably served by their father.

Genial to a degree, inheriting in the highest type the culture of his ancient Spanish and Portuguese lineage, he was for years a personal favorite with the entire Bench and Bar, and in the Bar Association his influence was great and never questioned. Notwithstanding his position at the Bar, he was always interested in and proud of the religion of his fathers, and never for a day from the time of his majority lost his communion with the Portuguese Congregation Shearith Israel in the city of New York, of which he was spared to see one of his sons a member of the Board of Trustees. Well known as an Israelite, he was always sensitive in the cause of his people, and his life seems to prove that in this great Republic no sacrifice of one's relation as an Israelite is requisite to secure

the respect and affection of the non-Jewish members of the community. His name will long live as a leader of the Hebrews at the New York Bar.

N. Taylor Phillips.

Raphael Benjamin.

Raphael Benjamin, or as he was more familiarly known to his family and intimate friends, Ralph Benjamin, was born in Old Castle Street, London, England, on the 19th of June, 1846. He was one of eight children, four boys and four girls, the offspring of Elias Benjamin and Mary Lazarus. He attended the Jews' Free School in Bell Lane, then under the guidance of Moses Angel. He was also a member of the Talmud Torah classes of the same institution, where he received instruction in Hebrew branches from Myer D. Davis and the Rev. George J. Emanuel. Benjamin was one of the most promising of the pupils of his day, as was evidenced by the deep interest which the Head Master took in his career, as well as by his success in various competitions. In 1860, he won the Jews' Commemoration Scholarship, which had been founded by the Rothschilds in commemoration of the admission of the Jews into the British Parliament in 1858. This prize consisted of £30 and a bronze medal.

In 1862, Benjamin was appointed pupil teacher in the school, meanwhile continuing his studies in Hebrew and pedagogy. He finally received his diploma as a fully qualified teacher from the English Board of Education, and his Bachelor of Arts degree from the University of London. Copies of several diaries of pedestrian tours of his vacations of 1869 and 1872 were found among his papers after his death. They breathe an air of the sweetest poetry, a deep love for nature, and a sincere admiration for his master, Moses Angel. Their style gave promise of a literary future and an occasional stanza of poetry showed him to be a man

full of the fire of the muses. He was a musician of promise, too, cultivating his voice with much success, so that he finally became a member of the Tonic Sol-Fa College of London. He refers to his mastery of the flute, which was his constant companion on his tours. During this teaching period in London, he was the successful competitor for the Isaac Cohen prize of £25 which was offered for the best essay on a Biblical subject. His rabbinical degree, he received from the late Dr. Nathan M. Adler, the chief rabbi of the British Isles, from Rabbi Samson Rausek, and the Rev. A. L. Green.

In 1874, Benjamin was elected assistant minister and reader of the Bourke Street Synagogue in Melbourne, Australia, and master of the Jewish schools of the city. His berth was no easy one as the Polish and the English factions in the community were at war, which led to an inevitable split in the congregation. The delicacy and tact with which he handled the situation were shown by his long term of service in that city, as well as by the abundant testimonials of regret upon his leaving that community. He spent eight years in the island continent, engaged in the various communal activities. He was a prominent member of the Sir Moses Testimonial Fund Committee in 1875. The degree of Master of Arts was bestowed upon him by the University of Melbourne. The synagogue in Sydney was dedicated by him during a visit to that city in 1878. On his departure from Australia, he was presented with a handsome set of engrossed resolutions and an elegant silver tea service.

In 1882, he was elected to the pulpit of the K. K. Benai Israel (the Mound Street Temple) of Cincinnati, Ohio, as the successor of Dr. Max Lilienthal who died in the spring of that year. For six years he ministered to this congregation, and finally retired because of difficulties in which he became involved with his flock. He was succeeded by the present incumbent of that honored pulpit, Dr. David Philipson. During his Cincinnati period, he was a very active worker in

the Young Men's Hebrew Association of that city, which attained its highest degree of strength and usefulness during the term of his vice-presidency. His classes in English literature were most popular, large numbers of the students of the Hebrew Union College benefiting by them. In 1889, he was elected rabbi of the Fifteenth Street Temple (Congregation Shaare Shomayim) in New York City, which post he retained till the consolidation of that congregation with the Fifty-Fifth Street Temple, Ahavath Chesed.

Benjamin was of a most retiring nature, quiet and uncommunicative to a fault, which probably prevented him from taking the place in the community to which his talents entitled him. He was a good all-around scholar, exact and methodical in his ways. A list of the various organizations to which he belonged at the time of his death is eloquent of the catholicity of his tastes. He was recognized as one of the foremost philatelists of America, the recent sale of his collections being looked upon as an event in the world of stamp collectors.

For a number of years Benjamin was without a pulpit of his own, during which time he was very active ministering to the large unchurched Jewish population of New York City. In 1902, he was elected rabbi of the Keap Street Temple, Beth Elohim, of Brooklyn, to succeed Dr. Leopold Wintner, who was retired on a pension. This post he held till the time of his sudden death, November 15, 1906. He was survived by all of his brothers and sisters, four of whom live in London, and three in Natal, South Africa.

For a numbers of years Benjamin was a Governor and Examiner of the Hebrew Union College of Cincinnati, Secretary of the New York Board of Jewish Ministers, Fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and Secretary of the Ninth District of the Charity Organization Society of New York. During his incumbency of the Brooklyn pulpit, he was a very active communal worker, his

particular delight being the conduct of the Saturday afternoon services at the Hebrew Orphan Asylum of that borough.

His sudden death created a void in the hearts of his many friends who honored him for his silent virtues and his manly struggle with the world. "His life was," indeed, "gentle and the elements well mixed in him." The silence of the grave has followed the no less profound silence of his life. Raphael Benjamin, M. A., will go down in the history of the American Rabbinate and of American Jewry as a faithful, sincere and conscientious worker for all that went to improve life and, in particular life for the Jew, in this land of his adoption.

MARTIN A. MEYER.

ISABELLA H. ROSENBACH.

Isabella H. Rosenbach, the youngest child of Hyman and Rebecca H. Polock, was born in Philadelphia November 26, 1834, and died in that city on July 25, 1906.

Her parents were prominent in Philadelphia in the early part of the nineteenth century, her father, Hyman Polock, being one of the pioneers in the communal work of that city.

Of her own generation, her sister, Sarah Polock, who lived to the age of eighty-eight, and her brother, Moses Polock, who died August, 1903, an eminent authority on Americana, as well as another sister, Mrs. Abraham S. Wolf, still living, were all important figures in the Jewish community of Philadelphia.

She was educated at the private school of John Allen, and later (in 1848), entered the school of Mary and Susan Cox. She first attended the school of the Hebrew Sunday School Society in 1839, was a pupil for seven years and a teacher for the same period; was elected a director in 1863, and served as president from 1887 to 1899, remaining a member of the

board till her death, and being thus connected with the Society for a period of fifty-seven years.

She was a member of the Board of the Hebrew Sewing Society until 1857; was a manager of the Jewish Foster Home from 1860 to 1874, and one of a committee appointed to revise the constitution of the Home, in 1867, and was a member of the first executive board. She served as Secretary of the Associate Board of the United Hebrew Charities for some years; was a member of this Society since its foundation, and contributed an article on Aaron Levy, her great-great-uncle, to No. 2 of the *Publications* of this Society.

She was a member of the Beth El Emeth and Mickve Israel Congregations.

She married Morris Rosenbach, November 11, 1857, and is survived by six children, one of whom, Abraham S. W. Rosenbach, has issued several publications on the history of English literature and kindred subjects, besides contributions to the *Publications* of this Society.

A son, Hyman Polock Rosenbach, who died March 4, 1892, was well known in journalistic and literary circles, and published a pamphlet, "The Jews of Philadelphia Prior to 1800," which was a pioneer work in American Jewish history.

Mrs. Rosenbach was a woman of more than ordinary ability, active in charitable and religious educational work. She was an excellent daughter, a faithful wife, affectionate sister, and loving mother in Israel. Of her it can be truly said אשת חיל מי ימצא ורחק מפנינים מכרה

DAVID SULZBERGER.

BERNHARD FELSENTHAL.

On January 12, 1908, Bernhard Felsenthal, the last of the American pioneer Reform Rabbis, ended his earthly career.

Until within two years of his death he enjoyed unusual vigor of body and, at the ripe age of eighty-six, his eye was

still undimmed, his hand steady, his memory precise and reliable, and his mind thirsty for knowledge. Although he began his career as a school-teacher and did not assume the active duties of a rabbi until he was thirty-nine years of age, he personified the best traditions of the rabbinical profession. He was a scholar with a passionate devotion to the Thora, an eager learner until the very end of his life, a painstaking student of rabbinical literature, a logical independent thinker, a sympathetic lover of his people, a tolerant friend of humanity, modest and unpretentious in his daily life, a classic example of devotion to duty, unostentatious piety, simplicity, self-denial, patient suffering. He was a revered father, a true friend, a beloved teacher, a priest in whose mouth was the law of truth and on whose lips no unrighteousness was found. His death was mourned by American Jews, of every shade of opinion. Representatives of nearly every local Jewish society attended his funeral, held at Isaiah Temple. Memorial services were held in Sinai Temple, Chicago, and in many other cities.

B. Felsenthal was born January 2, 1822, in Muenchweiler, near Kaiserslautern, in the Rhenish Palatinate. At the age of thirteen he decided to prepare himself for the Bavarian civil service and, with this end in view, visited from 1836 to 1838 the " Kreisgewerbschule," in Kaiserslautern, and in 1839 and 1840 the Polytechnic High School in Munich. But it soon became evident that there was then no prospect for a Jew to get a position in the service of the State; wherefore, he discontinued his studies in Munich and, concluding to become a Jewish teacher, attended for two years the teachers' seminary in Kaiserslautern.

Into the field of Rabbinic and Talmudic literature he was guided by Bezirksrabbiner Moses Cohen.

Felsenthal taught school in a German village until 1854, when he emigrated to America. For a few years he officiated as rabbi and teacher at Madison, Indiana; and in 1858, he

removed to Chicago to take a position as clerk in Greenebaum's Bank. Soon after his arrival, the "Juedischer Reform-Verein" was organized with Felsenthal as guiding spirit; and as its secretary he published, in 1859, his pamphlet, "Kol Kore Ba-midbar, ueber Juedische Reform." In June, 1861, Sinai Congregation of Chicago was organized, an offshoot of the Reform-Verein, and Felsenthal served as its rabbi until 1864, when he resigned and became the first rabbi of Zion Congregation, of West Chicago, where he officiated until 1887, when the congregation elected him rabbi emeritus. For the next twenty years he lived in peaceful retirement with his interesting family of four daughters and one son.

Felsenthal was a good book critic, a vigorous controversialist and quite a prolific writer for the Jewish press. His specialty was Jewish bibliography. Besides his Kol Kore Bamidbar, he published Juedisches Schulwesen in Amerika, 1866; a practical Hebrew Grammar, 1868; Kritik des Christlichen Missionswesens, 1869; Zur Proselytenfrage, 1878; Juedische Fragen, 1896; The Beginnings of the Chicago Sinai Congregation, 1899. Since his death, his children have been able to find 258 literary contributions of his published as pamphlets or as special articles in the *Year Book* of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, the *Nation, Sinai, Jewish Times, Young Israel, Zeitgeist, Jewish Advance, Reform Advocate, Menorah, Israelite,* and other Jewish periodicals.

Felsenthal brought with him the culture and idealism of his native land and consecrated them with all his heart to his adopted country, lifting his voice with the foremost of the nation for the abolition of slavery. Already at Madison, he took an active interest in the Fremont campaign and May 18, 1855, he published an article against Know-Nothingism in the Lawrenceburg *Democratic Register.* In 1863, he protested against General Grant's order; and in 1875 he headed a protest against reading the Bible in the Chicago public schools.

Though of a retiring disposition, Felsenthal stood in friendly relations with ministers of other denominations. In 1869, Robert Collyer invited him to occupy his pulpit, but Collyer's congregation objected to having a Jew in their pulpit. For a while he taught Hebrew to a class of Christian ministers including William R. Harper, who afterwards became President of the Chicago University. In 1879, he was one of the Vice-Presidents of the Free Religious Association; and, in 1893, he read a paper at the Parliament of Religions on the Sabbath in Judaism.

Various honors were bestowed upon Felsenthal during his life time. Zion Congregation publicly celebrated his seventieth birthday and Isaiah and Sinai Congregations his eightieth anniversary. His "Morenu" he received from Drs. Einhorn and S. Adler. In 1868, the Chicago University conferred upon him the degree of Ph. D.; in 1902, he received the degree of D. D. from the Hebrew Union College, and in 1905 the degree of D. D. from the Jewish Theological Seminary. The B'nai B'rith order bestowed many distinctions upon him and in later years the Zionists, whose cause he was one of the first to champion and whose principles he advocated with a glowing heart until his dying day, loved to show him honor.

Felsenthal did not himself possess organizing ability, but he gave many societies the benefit of his personal support and literary co-operation. He was honorary member of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, honorary Vice-President of the American Federation of Zionists, a member of the Publication Committee of the Jewish Publication Society. From the very beginning he was a member of the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Historical Society, and since 1900 he was one of its Vice-Presidents.

In a letter dated February 4, 1890, Dr. Cyrus Adler wrote to Dr. Felsenthal: "Some years ago you wrote to me suggesting that I should undertake the formation of an American

Jewish Historical Society. At the time I was unwilling to try the experiment, but now it seems to me it might be attempted with at least a chance of success." In this connection, it is interesting to note that in 1863 Felsenthal was elected a corresponding member of the Chicago Historical Society and read a paper on the "Israelites of Chicago."

In the annals of Israel's immortal teachers will be enshrined the name of Bernhard Felsenthal.

JOSEPH STOLZ.

SOLOMON W. LEVI.

Solomon W. Levi was born in the city of Cincinnati July 4, 1860, and died there February 4, 1908. His whole life was spent in the city of his birth. There he received his education and there he developed the blessed activity of a fine manhood. There was no good work wherein his interest could not be enlisted. Kindhearted to a degree, charming in manner, genial in disposition, Solomon W. Levi was of the salt of the earth. He was prominent in every local Jewish religious and philanthropic movement. Notably was he interested in the National Jewish Hospital for Consumptives at Denver, Col., which institution was his pet charity. Through his influence the United Jewish Charities of Cincinnati agreed to contribute two thousand dollars annually to this hospital. He was first Vice-President of the Denver institution at the time of his death. He was also a Director of the United Jewish Charities of Cincinnati, Treasurer of the Hebrew General Relief Society and Director and Treasurer of the Ophthalmic Hospital.

When the American Jewish Historical Society met in annual session in Cincinnati in February, 1905, there was no local member of the Society who evinced a greater interest in the work of the meeting.

There were few men in our Cincinnati Jewish community who could be spared so ill as Solomon W. Levi. Though young in years when he was taken he had lived a full life, if life be measured by " deeds, not years."

DAVID PHILIPSON.

HENRY I. HAMBURGER.

Henry I. Hamburger was born in the city of Baltimore on the first of January, 1865, and lived there until his death, which occurred on the last of June, 1907. He was one of a large family, eight brothers and sisters having survived him. His parents, who are still enjoying a ripe and active old age, were among the first German settlers in Baltimore, of those whose descendants form the bone and sinew of a now large and prosperous community. The subject of this sketch attended the public schools of his native city, but soon exchanged the school of book-learning for the sterner school of practical life. He joined in active business with his father and brothers, and through concentrated attention and real capacity, they succeeded in building up one of the largest establishments of the kind in the State. The career of the firm of which he was an active and directing member is representative of the notable mercantile successes achieved by American Jews of German extraction, in which marked business ability, sustained energy and unswerving probity have been the conspicuous contributing causes. The future historian of the Jews in America will find a theme for economic approval and ethical commendation in these fruitful and honorable commercial activities. On November 6, 1901, he married Miss Merle Friedenwald of Philadelphia, formerly of Baltimore, thus uniting two of the prominent Jewish families of the latter city. Personally, Henry Hamburger was warm-hearted, generous, a kind and considerate friend, unpretentious, but not without dignity. His family life was whole-

souled, tender to the full. He had a talent for painting, and left a number of examples of his skill and fondness for the art. At the time of his death he was a member of the board of the Hebrew Education Society of Baltimore. Besides his widow, two young children survive him.

LOUIS H. LEVIN.

JACOB VOORSANGER.

Jacob Voorsanger was born in Amsterdam, Holland, November 13, 1853, and died in San Francisco on April 27, 1908, at the age of fifty-four.

His family, as also the family of his wife, was resident in Amsterdam for several generations. He passed his youth in the Yeshiba of Heinrich Dünner, rabbi of Amsterdam, for whom he cherished a warm affection. He came to America in 1873 in his nineteenth year, and was chosen to serve a congregation in Philadelphia. Here he stayed until 1876. These were years of great struggle for him and his young wife, whom he had known in Amsterdam and whom he had married in America. From Philadelphia he went to a congregation in Washington, where he stayed until 1877, and from there he went to a congregation in Providence, R. I., where he stayed until 1878. In this year he went to Houston, Texas, where he served as rabbi for eight years, or until 1886, when he went to San Francisco to be associated with Elkan Cohen as rabbi of Temple Emanuel. He was rabbi of Temple Emanuel at his death, having been with that congregation about twenty-two years.

During his ministry in Houston, he edited the *Jewish South,* a monthly paper, from 1881 to 1883; and he edited a children's paper, the *Sabbath Visitor,* published in Cincinnati from 1883 to 1886. In San Francisco he edited the *Jewish Progress,* from 1890 to 1893. This paper later became

Emanuel, a weekly Jewish paper, of which he was the editor until his death.

As a preacher, he was forceful above all things, in accordance with his positive nature. He formed judgments by reason of clear thinking, and he was never afraid to stand by his opinion. He endeavored always to give his sermons a Jewish character by relating them to Jewish literature. In 1900 he published "Chronicles of Emanuel," in honor of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of his congregation. The building of Emanuel was destroyed by the fire, by which a large part of San Francisco was devastated, and was rededicated on Sunday, September 1, 1907.

As an editor, he developed a pleasing and clear newspaper style, so that it is questionable if anyone writing in the Jewish press of to-day is his superior in this.

In 1894, he was given the degree of D. D. (*honoris causa*) by the Hebrew Union College, and in 1895 he succeeded in establishing the Department of Semitic Languages and Literature in the University of California at Berkeley. He remained head of this department until his death. For the term 1899-1900, he was special lecturer on Bible in the Leland Stanford Junior University at Palo Alto, Cal. Besides this he was a member of the Board of Governors of the Hebrew Union College, at one time a Vice-President of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, and one of the editors of the *Union Prayer Book,* consulting editor of the *Jewish Encyclopedia,* and a member of the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Committee. After the Kishineff massacres, he attempted the formation of the International Jewish League, which was in a short time merged into the American Jewish Committee. He was furthermore one of the founders, as he was one of the first Vice-Presidents, of the California Red Cross, a member of the Hebrew Veterans of the Spanish War, and he was a very active member of the Masonic Order. At the time of the earthquake and fire which

destroyed a large part of San Francisco, he was Chairman of the first Citizens' Committee and afterwards Chairman of the Ford Committee, and his hard work at that time was one of the causes that contributed to his death.

He was the editor of the "Life and Works of Moses Mendelssohn," and he issued a pamphlet defining his attitude towards the Zionist movement.

His Jewish position may be best characterized by saying that, while in theory he went the full length of the nineteenth century Reform movement, in feeling he was so much of a Jew of the old kind that he often said of himself that he was possessed of two souls. If he had two souls in this regard—and this was almost necessary for a child of his generation—he was one-souled as to his family and his neighbors, his pupils and his friends. He had strong feelings, strong likes and dislikes. And those of us who possessed his affection may count ourselves fortunate.

J. Leon Magnes.

Moritz Steinschneider.

The year 5667 has brought many a bereavement to the Jewish student. It is sufficient to mention here the names of Solomon Buber, the great editor and interpreter of the Midrashic literature, Dr. Adolph Neubauer, the compiler of the catalogue of the Hebrew manuscripts in the Oxford libraries, and Professor Jacob Freudenthal, the only Jewish student who has ever written anything on the Hellenistic literature which deserves the name of research. But the death of none came so unexpectedly as that of Moritz Steinschneider. That the immortal Steinschneider should ever die, that the man whom every Jewish student for more than two generations was in the habit of consulting first, when approaching a new subject, should ever be removed from the stage of his great activity, was something for which we were hardly prepared.

He lived with all of us, and he survived so many of us, that one could rather think of having one's own death some day recorded by Steinschneider in one of his bibliographical notices, than to write an obituary about him.

Nor is this task a very easy one, considering that his life extended over ninety-one years, and that it was all activity. As of the great "scribe of the law," it may also be said of him that his vision never became dimmed, and that his freshness never disappeared until his dying day. Moreover, this activity was not confined to a single branch of Jewish literature. As he was impartial in his judgment of men, so he was impartial in his judgment of things or subjects. His main attention seems to have been directed to the works of the Jewish philosophers, certain of which he edited and all of which he fully described. But this did not prevent him from being interested in such subjects as the Jewish share in the secular sciences, or the Jewish controversies with Mohammedans and Christians, or the Jewish contributions to the pseudographic literature of the world and similar topics.

In consideration of these facts, I must refer you for a real appreciation of Steinschneider's genius, and the importance of his literary activity, to the admirable introduction to Steinschneider's *Gesammelte Werke* by Drs. Malter and Marx. Here only a few general remarks must suffice. As I have just said, Steinschneider lived ninety-one years. His early youth thus brings us back to the so-called "Measphim" period, the period of the Jewish rationalists. These were mostly recruited from Mendelssohn's disciples, or those who believed themselves to be his disciples, whose productions are embodied in the periodical called *Ha-Measeph*. These publications are distinguished by the fine Hebrew style in which they were written, which style, however, seems to have been meant to cover a multitude of cheap rationalistic platitudes, appearing to us almost childish and valueless. Mendelssohn was of course their patron saint, but they also claimed, as indeed many a

superficial theologian does to this day, Maimonides and a few other Spanish rabbis as their own. History was for them non-existent. The few who dabbled in history, such as Peter Beer and his friends, showed only their utter impotence. Bishop Stubbs, the famous historian of the English Constitution, made a remark somewhere that no dissenter could ever write a good history of the English people and their institutions, as for them England only commences with Cromwell and other heroes of the Reformation. This may also be applied to the Jewish dissenters and their successors up to date, with whom Jewish history only begins with Mendelssohn. The reaction, or rather progress, came soon, represented by such men as Rapoport, Krochmal, and Zunz, who, with all their admiration for Mendelssohn, knew that Jewish history began somewhere in pre-historic times, that it was never interrupted by any circumstance, and that even the Middle Ages, with their long suffering and the darkness, covering the greater part of our globe, contributed their legitimate share of Jewish thought and Jewish activity to this history. Against all fashion of the time, Krochmal showed how the Talmud, the very *bête noire* of these rationalists, could be made an available source for this history. Rapoport did the same thing for the responses of the Geonim and other mediæval productions, whilst Zunz, among other things, set himself to show the world what the rabbis of the Franco-German schools contributed to Jewish thought, both in their commentaries on the Bible and the Talmud. He even showed that there is a great deal to learn from the Piyutim, the liturgical contributions of the mediæval rabbis, who were then the special subject of abuse by those who believed that the depth of devotion stands in inverse ratio to the length of the prayers. All these men were attacked in their turn by the rationalists, but truth and broadness of view conquered in the end. Even Abraham Geiger followed largely their lead, though he was never able to entirely forget

that he was the leader of the opposition busy in composing protocols upsetting history.

Steinschneider was, to use a Talmudical term, "the fellow-disciple of all these great men." He learnt from Krochmal, though I am not certain that he ever saw him, but he attended the lectures of Rapoport in Prague, and was a close and intimate friend of Zunz, whom he followed in almost every detail in his famous sketch of Jewish literature, which we possess now in three versions, German, English and Hebrew. But like all "fellow-disciples," he was not a mere reproducer of the works of his masters, but supplemented them greatly, and it was this supplementary work which became so important for the great majority of students.

It is true that some of Steinschneider's most important works aimed chiefly, as Drs. Malter and Marx rightly point out, at showing the position of the Jew in the literature of the world at large. We need here only point to Steinschneider's works:

"Contributions of the Jews to Mathematics,"

"Contributions of the Jews to Medicine,"

"The Jews as translators and interpreters,"

etc., but these works are chiefly meant for the specialist of the sciences in question. The work by which he will after all be best remembered, and which has become the Urim and Thummim of every Jewish student, is his catalogue of the Bodleian Library and his other numerous contributions to Jewish bibliography. The bibliographer is, as is well known, the forerunner of the historian, for it is only when you know the sources of your subject and their sequence, that you can form a notion of the genesis and development of thought, and this was the great gift which Steinschneider bestowed on every one of us in dozens of volumes. Let any student who is anxious to write about the thought of a given period, try to dispense with Steinschneider, and he will find out at once how

many anachronisms he will make in the short space of a single generation.

As a bibliographer, Steinschneider was strictly "objective" or impartial. You cannot, with all the sympathy in the world, alter or interpret a single date in favor of a given theory or of a popular person. This impartiality is also manifest in all his other works, where he deals more with systems and theories than with dates and periods. Indeed, he was so impartial, that he occasionally became unjust, as, for instance, when he only lately attacked his friend and disciple, Professor David Kaufmann, on account of his using the term Jewish heroes and similar hyperbolic metaphors. It may also be that Steinschneider never entirely emancipated himself from the rationalism of his youth, or rather boyhood, when there was so little sympathy for Jewish heroism and so little understanding of that quality of Holiness, a distinguished feature of Jewish great men and Jewish great women, that was entirely misconceived and misrepresented by the generation which followed Voltaire. However, it is not for us of a later generation, who never knew the struggle, to criticise the man from whom we learned so much. His peculiarities and his occasional attacks on men whom we admire and revere, will soon enough be forgotten. They were only accidental with him and formed by no means a part of his system. He fortunately never accepted any system in its entirety, and never joined in any movement. Nay, everybody familiar with his works knows that he was thoroughly suspicious of all those systems and movements in Bible criticism and interpretations of Jewish history which are now the subject of heated controversy. He was sceptic enough to question scepticism itself, but he left us quite enough of what is positive, constructive and instructive in all departments of Jewish thought and Jewish literature to render his name a blessing for all time. But it must be a special source of satisfaction to this society, of which Steinschneider was an honorary member, to know

that his name will be particularly connected with our great country. For, thanks to the munificence of the Honorable Jacob H. Schiff, Steinschneider's library now forms a part of the collection of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. His books are full of annotations, containing untold treasures for the Jewish student. It also deserves special mention that it is two American scholars, Dr. Malter, of the Hebrew Union College, of Cincinnati, and Dr. Marx, of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, whom Steinschneider entrusted with the edition of his *Gesammelte Schriften* to appear in five volumes. His memory will thus never disappear from among the Jews, but will be especially connected with American Judaism.

S. Schechter.

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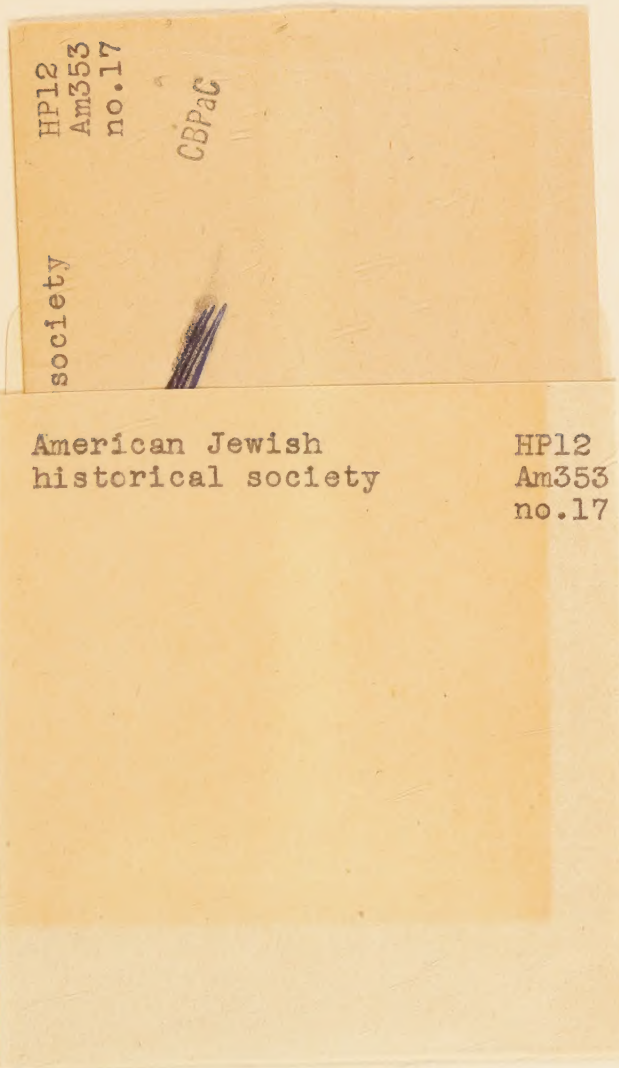

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